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The Complete Works of
John W. Motley

VOLUME I



The Rise of the Dutch Republic
A History

VOL. I

Series of English and French Literature

New York

From drawing by Frederick Dickson
and the Duke of Alva
Catherine de' Medici, the Queen of Spain,



Catherine de' Medici, the Queen of Spain,
and the Duke of Alva

From drawing by Frederick Dielman

Édition de Luxe

The Complete Works of
John L. ^{Scott} Motley

VOLUME II



The Rise of the Dutch Republic
A History

VOL. II

Society of English and French Literature

New York

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feld's—Chantonnay's advice to his brother—Review of Granvelle's administration, and estimate of his character.

ON the 11th March, 1563, Orange, Horn, and Egmont united in a remarkable letter to the king.¹ They said that as their longer "taciturnity" might cause the ruin of his Majesty's affairs, they were at last compelled to break silence. They hoped that the king would receive with benignity a communication which was pure, frank, and free from all passion. The leading personages of the province, they continued, having thoroughly examined the nature and extent of Cardinal Granvelle's authority, had arrived at the conclusion that everything was in his hands. This persuasion, they said, was rooted in the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects, and particularly in their own, so deeply that it could not be eradicated as long as the cardinal remained. The king was therefore implored to consider the necessity of remedying the evil. The royal affairs, it was affirmed, would never be successfully conducted so long as they were intrusted to Granvelle, because he was so odious to so many people. If the danger were not imminent, they should not feel obliged to write to his Majesty with so much vehemence. It was, however, an affair which allowed neither delay nor dissimulation. They therefore prayed the king, if they had ever deserved credence in things of weight, to believe them now. By so doing, his Majesty would avoid great mischief. Many grand seigniors, governors, and others had thought it necessary to give this notice, in order that the king might prevent the ruin of the country. If, however, his Majesty were willing, as they hoped, to avoid discontenting all for the sake of satisfy-

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 35-39.

ing one, it was possible that affairs might yet prosper. That they might not be thought influenced by ambition or by hope of private profit, the writers asked leave to retire from the state council. Neither their reputation, they said, nor the interests of the royal service would permit them to act with the cardinal. They professed themselves dutiful subjects and Catholic vassals. Had it not been for the zeal of the leading seigniors, the nobility, and other well-disposed persons, affairs would not at that moment be so tranquil, the common people having been so much injured, and the manner of life pursued by the cardinal not being calculated to give more satisfaction than was afforded by his unlimited authority. In conclusion, the writers begged his Majesty not to throw the blame upon them if mischance should follow the neglect of this warning. This memorable letter was signed by Guillaume de Nassau, Lamoral d'Egmont, and Philippe de Montmorency (Count Horn). It was despatched under cover to Charles de Tisnaeq,¹ a Belgian, and procurator for the affairs of the Netherlands at Madrid, a man whose relations with Count Egmont were of a friendly character. It was impossible, however, to keep the matter a secret from the person most interested. The cardinal wrote to the king the day before the letter was written, and many weeks before it was sent, to apprise him that it was coming, and to instruct him as to the answer he was to make.² Nearly all the leading nobles and governors had adhered to the substance of the letter, save the Duke of Aerschot, Count Aremberg, and Baron Berlaymont. The duke and count had refused to join the league, violent scenes having occurred upon the subject between them and the

¹ Strada, iii. 126.

² Papiers d'État, vii. 11-21.

leaders of the opposition party. Egmont, being with a large shooting-party at Aerschot's country place, Beaumont, had taken occasion to urge the duke to join in the general demonstration against the cardinal, arguing the matter in the rough, offhand, reckless manner which was habitual with him. His arguments offended the nobleman thus addressed, who was vain and irascible. He replied by affirming that he was a friend to Egmont, but would not have him for his master. He would have nothing to do, he said, with their league against the cardinal, who had never given him cause of enmity. He had no disposition to dictate to the king as to his choice of ministers, and his Majesty was quite right to select his servants at his own pleasure. The duke added that if the seigniors did not wish him for a friend, it was a matter of indifference to him. Not one of them was his superior; he had as large a band of noble followers and friends as the best of them, and he had no disposition to accept the supremacy of any nobleman in the land. The conversation carried on in this key soon became a quarrel, and from words the two gentlemen would soon have come to blows, but for the interposition of Aremberg and Robles, who were present at the scene. The Duchess of Parma, narrating the occurrence to the king, added that a duel had been the expected result of the affair, but that the two nobles had eventually been reconciled.¹ It was characteristic of Aerschot that he continued afterward to associate with the nobles upon friendly terms, while maintaining an increased intimacy with the cardinal.²

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 5, 11-21. *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 241, 242. *Strada*, iii. 124.

² *Papiers d'État*, vii. 11-21: "Converso con ellos, y ellos con el, con muy buena cara, y ny mas ny menos el conmigo y yo con el."

The gentlemen who sent the letter were annoyed at the premature publicity which it seemed to have attained. Orange had in vain solicited Count Aremberg to join the league, and had quarreled with him in consequence.¹ Egmont, in the presence of Madame de Parma, openly charged Aremberg with having divulged the secret which had been confided to him. The count fiercely denied that he had uttered a syllable on the subject to a human being, but added that any communication on his part would have been quite superfluous while Egmont and his friends were daily boasting of what they were to accomplish. Egmont reiterated the charge of a breach of faith by Aremberg. That nobleman replied by laying his hand upon his sword, denouncing as liars all persons who should dare to charge him again with such an offense, and offering to fight out the quarrel upon the instant. Here, again, personal combat was with much difficulty averted.²

Egmont, rude, reckless, and indiscreet, was already making manifest that he was more at home on a battle-field than in a political controversy where prudence and knowledge of human nature were as requisite as courage. He was at this period more liberal in his sentiments than at any moment of his life. Inflamed by his hatred of Granvelle, and determined to compass the overthrow of that minister, he conversed freely with all kinds of people, sought popularity among the burghers, and descanted to every one with much imprudence upon the necessity of union for the sake of liberty and the national good.³ The regent, while faithfully recording in her

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 18, 19.

² *Strada*, iii. 126. *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 248.

³ *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 248.

despatches everything of this nature which reached her ears, expressed her astonishment at Egmont's course, because, as she had often taken occasion to inform the king, she had always considered the count most sincerely attached to his Majesty's service.¹

Berlaymont, the only other noble of prominence who did not approve the 11th of March letter, was at this period attempting to "swim in two waters," and, as usual in such cases, found it very difficult to keep himself afloat. He had refused to join the league, but he stood aloof from Granvelle. On a hope held out by the seigniors that his son should be made Bishop of Liège, he had ceased during a whole year from visiting the cardinal, and had never spoken to him at the council-board.² Granvelle, in narrating these circumstances to the king, expressed the opinion that Berlaymont, by thus attempting to please both parties, had thoroughly discredited himself with both.³

The famous epistle, although a most reasonable and manly statement of an incontrovertible fact, was nevertheless a document which it required much boldness to sign. The minister at that moment seemed omnipotent, and it was obvious that the king was determined upon a course of political and religious absolutism. It is therefore not surprising that, although many sustained its principles, few were willing to affix their names to a paper which might prove a death-warrant to the signers. Even Montigny and Berghen, although they had been active in conducting the whole cabal, if cabal it could be called, refused to subscribe the letter.⁴ Egmont and

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 248.

² Papiers d'État, vii. 11-21.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 2.

Horn were men of reckless daring, but they were not keen-sighted enough to perceive fully the consequences of their acts. Orange was often accused by his enemies of timidity, but no man ever doubted his profound capacity to look quite through the deeds of men. His political foresight enabled him to measure the dangerous precipice which they were deliberately approaching, while the abyss might perhaps be shrouded to the vision of his companions. He was too tranquil of nature to be hurried by passion into a grave political step which in cooler moments he might regret. He resolutely, therefore, and with his eyes open, placed himself in open and recorded enmity with the most powerful and dangerous man in the whole Spanish realm, and incurred the resentment of a king who never forgave. It may be safely averred that as much courage was requisite thus to confront a cold and malignant despotism, and to maintain afterward, without flinching, during a whole lifetime, the cause of national rights and liberty of conscience, as to head the most brilliant charge of cavalry that ever made hero famous.

Philip answered the letter of the three nobles on the 6th June following. In this reply,¹ which was brief, he acknowledged the zeal and affection by which the writers had been actuated. He suggested, nevertheless, that, as they had mentioned no particular cause for adopting the advice contained in their letter, it would be better that one of them should come to Madrid to confer with him. Such matters, he said, could be better treated by word of mouth. He might thus receive sufficient information to enable him to form a decision, for, said he in

¹ Correspondance de G. le Tacit., ii. 41, 42.

conclusion, it was not his custom to aggrieve any of his ministers without cause.¹

This was a fine phrase, but, under the circumstances of its application, quite ridiculous. There was no question of aggrieving the minister. The letter of the three nobles was very simple. It consisted of a fact and a deduction. The fact stated was that the cardinal was odious to all classes of the nation. The deduction drawn was that the government could no longer be carried on by him without imminent danger of ruinous convulsions. The fact was indisputable. The person most interested confirmed it in his private letters. "T is said," wrote Granvelle to Philip, "that grandees, nobles, and people all abhor me, nor am I surprised to find that grandees, nobles, and people *are* all openly against me, since each and all have been invited to join in the league."² The cardinal's reasons for the existence of the unpopularity, which he admitted to the full, have no bearing upon the point in the letter. The fact was relied upon to sustain a simple although a momentous inference. It was for Philip to decide upon the propriety of the deduction, and to abide by the consequences of his resolution when taken. As usual, however, the monarch was not capable of making up his mind. He knew very well that the cardinal was odious and infamous because he was the willing impersonation of the royal policy. Philip was, therefore, logically called upon to abandon the policy or to sustain the minister. He could make up his mind to do neither the one nor the other. In the

¹ Correspondance de G. le Tacit., ii. 41, 42: "Car ce n'est pas ma coustume de grever aucuns de mes ministres sans cause."

² "Que agora grandes y nobles y pueblo me abhorrecian," etc. —Papiers d'État, vii. 11-21.

meantime a well-turned period of mock magnanimity had been furnished him. This he accordingly transmitted as his first answer to a most important communication upon a subject which, in the words of the writers, "admitted neither of dissimulation nor delay." To deprive Philip of dissimulation and delay, however, was to take away his all. They were the two weapons with which he fought his long life's battle. They summed up the whole of his intellectual resources. It was inevitable, therefore, that he should at once have recourse to both on such an emergency as the present one.

At the same time that he sent his answer to the nobles he wrote an explanatory letter to the regent. He informed her that he had received the communication of the three seigniors, but instructed her that she was to appear to know nothing of the matter until Egmont should speak to her upon the subject. He added that, although he had signified his wish to the three nobles that one of them, without specifying which, should come to Madrid, he in reality desired that Egmont, who seemed the most tractable of the three, should be the one deputed. The king added that his object was to divide the nobles *and to gain time*.¹

It was certainly superfluous upon Philip's part to inform his sister that his object was to gain time. Procrastination was always his first refuge, as if the march of the world's events would pause indefinitely while he sat in his cabinet and pondered. It was, however, sufficiently puerile to recommend to his sister an affectation of ignorance on a subject concerning which nobles had wrangled and almost drawn their swords in her presence. This, however, was the king's statesmanship when left

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 251.

to his unaided exertions. Granvelle, who was both Philip and Margaret when either had to address or to respond to the world at large, did not always find it necessary to regulate the correspondence of his puppets between themselves. In order more fully to divide the nobles, the king also transmitted to Egmont a private note, in his own handwriting, expressing his desire that he should visit Spain in person, that they might confer together upon the whole subject.¹

These letters, as might be supposed, produced anything but a satisfactory effect. The discontent and rage of the gentlemen who had written or sustained the 11th of March communication were much increased. The answer was, in truth, no answer at all. "'T is a cold and bad reply," wrote Louis of Nassau, "to send after so long a delay. 'T is easy to see that the letter came from the cardinal's smithy. *In summa*, it is a vile business if the gentlemen are all to be governed by one person. I hope to God his power will come soon to an end. Nevertheless," added Louis, "the gentlemen are all wide awake, for they trust the red fellow not a bit more than he deserves."²

The reader has already seen that the letter was indeed "from the cardinal's smithy," Granvelle having instructed his master how to reply to the seigniors before the communication had been despatched.

The duchess wrote immediately to inform her brother that Egmont had expressed himself willing enough to go to Spain, but had added that he must first consult Orange and Horn.³ As soon as that step had been

¹ Strada, iii. 127. Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 33. Hoofd, ii. 42, 43.

² Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 164, 165.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 255-259.

taken, she had been informed that it was necessary for them to advise with all the gentlemen who had sanctioned their letter. The duchess had then tried in vain to prevent such an assembly, but finding that, even if forbidden, it would still take place, she had permitted the meeting in Brussels, as she could better penetrate into their proceedings there than if it should be held at a distance. She added that she should soon send her secretary, Armenteros, to Spain, that the king might be thoroughly acquainted with what was occurring.¹

Egmont soon afterward wrote to Philip, declining to visit Spain expressly on account of the cardinal. He added that he was ready to undertake the journey should the king command his presence for any other object.² The same decision was formally communicated to the regent by those chevaliers of the Fleece who had approved the 11th of March letter—Montigny, Berghen, Meghen, Mansfeld, Ligne, Hoogstraaten, Orange, Egmont, and Horn. The Prince of Orange, speaking in the name of all, informed her that they did not consider it consistent with their reputation, nor with the interest of his Majesty, that any one of them should make so long and troublesome a journey in order to accuse the cardinal. For any other purpose they all held themselves ready to go to Spain at once. The duchess expressed her regret at this resolution. The prince replied by affirming that in all their proceedings they had been governed, not by hatred of Granvelle, but by a sense of duty to his Majesty. It was now, he added, for the king to pursue what course it pleased him.³

Four days after this interview with the regent,

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 255-259.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., i. 259.

Orange, Egmont, and Horn addressed a second letter to the king.¹ In this communication they stated that they had consulted with all the gentlemen with whose approbation their first letter had been written. As to the journey of one of them to Spain, as suggested, they pronounced it very dangerous for any seignior to absent himself, in the condition of affairs which then existed. It was not a sufficient cause to go thither on account of Granvelle. They disclaimed any intention of making themselves parties to a process against the cardinal. They had thought that their simple, brief announcement would have sufficed to induce his Majesty to employ that personage in other places, where his talents would be more fruitful. As to "aggrieving the cardinal without cause," there was no question of aggrieving him at all, but of relieving him of an office which could not remain in his hands without disaster. As to "no particular cause having been mentioned," they said the omission was from no lack of many such. They had charged none, however, because, from their past services and their fidelity to his Majesty, they expected to be believed on their honor, without further witnesses or evidence. They had no intention of making themselves accusers. They had purposely abstained from specifications. If his Majesty should proceed to ampler information, causes enough would be found. It was better, however, that they should be furnished by others than by themselves. His Majesty would then find that the public and general complaint was not without adequate motives. They renewed their prayer to be excused from serving in the council of state, in order that they might not be afterward inculpated for the faults of others.

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 42-47.

Feeling that the controversy between themselves and the Cardinal de Granvelle in the state council produced no fruit for his Majesty's affairs, they preferred to yield to him. In conclusion, they begged the king to excuse the simplicity of their letters, the rather that they were not by nature great orators, but more accustomed to do well than to speak well, which was also more becoming to persons of their quality.¹

On the 4th of August, Count Horn also addressed a private letter to the king, written in the same spirit as that which characterized the joint letter just cited. He assured his Majesty that the cardinal could render no valuable service to the crown on account of the hatred which the whole nation bore him, but that, as far as regarded the maintenance of the ancient religion, all the nobles were willing to do their duty.²

The regent now despatched, according to promise, her private secretary, Thomas de Armenteros, to Spain. His instructions,³ which were very elaborate, showed that Granvelle was not mistaken when he charged her with being entirely changed in regard to him, and when he addressed her a reproachful letter protesting his astonishment that his conduct had become suspicious, and his inability to divine the cause of the weariness and dissatisfaction which she manifested in regard to him.⁴

Armenteros, a man of low, mercenary, and deceitful character, but a favorite of the regent, and already be-

¹ "D'autant que ne sommes point de nature grans orateurs ou harangueurs, et plus accoustumez à bien faire que à bien dire, comme aussy il est mieulx séant à gens de notre qualité."—Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 42-47.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 261, 262.

³ Ibid., i. 265-267.

⁴ Dom l'Evesque, ii. 41-45.

ginning to acquire that influence over her mind which was soon to become so predominant, was no friend of the cardinal. It was not probable that he would diminish the effect of that vague censure mingled with faint commendation which characterized Margaret's instructions by any laudatory suggestions of his own. He was directed to speak in general terms of the advance of heresy and the increasing penury of the exchequer. He was to request two hundred thousand crowns toward the lottery which the regent proposed to set up as a financial scheme. He was to represent that the duchess had tried unsuccessfully every conceivable means of accommodating the quarrel between the cardinal and the seigniors. She recognized Granvelle's great capacity, experience, zeal, and devotion,—for all which qualities she made much of him,—while, on the other hand, she felt that it would be a great inconvenience, and might cause a revolt of the country, were she to retain him in the Netherlands against the will of the seigniors. These motives had compelled her, the messenger was to add, to place both views of the subject before the eyes of the king. Armenteros was, furthermore, to narrate the circumstances of the interviews which had recently taken place between herself and the leaders of the opposition party.¹

From the tenor of these instructions it was sufficiently obvious that Margaret of Parma was not anxious to retain the cardinal, but that, on the contrary, she was beginning already to feel alarm at the dangerous position in which she found herself. A few days after the three nobles had despatched their last letter to the king, they had handed her a formal remonstrance. In this

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., ubi sup.

document they stated their conviction that the country was on the highroad to ruin, both as regarded his Majesty's service and the commonweal. The exchequer was bare, the popular discontent daily increasing, the fortresses on the frontier in a dilapidated condition. It was to be apprehended daily that merchants and other inhabitants of the provinces would be arrested in foreign countries to satisfy the debts owed by his Majesty. To provide against all these evils, but one course, it was suggested, remained to the government—to summon the States-General, and to rely upon their counsel and support. The nobles, however, forbore to press this point, by reason of the prohibition which the regent had received from the king. They suggested, however, that such an interdiction could have been dictated only by a distrust created between his Majesty and the estates by persons having no love for either, and who were determined to leave no resource by which the distress of the country could be prevented. The nobles, therefore, begged her Highness not to take it amiss if, so long as the king was indisposed to make other arrangements for the administration of the provinces, they should abstain from appearing at the state council. They preferred to cause the shadow at last to disappear which they had so long personated. In conclusion, however, they expressed their determination to do their duty in their several governments, and to serve the regent to the best of their abilities.¹

After this remonstrance had been delivered, the Prince of Orange, Count Horn, and Count Egmont abstained entirely from the sessions of the state council. She was

¹ Hoofd, ii. 43. Compare Correspondance de Guill. le Tacit., iii. 50 (note by M. Gachard).

left alone with the cardinal, whom she already hated, and with his two shadows, Viglius and Berlaymont.

Armenteros, after a month spent on his journey, arrived in Spain, and was soon admitted to an audience by Philip. In his first interview, which lasted four hours,¹ he read to the king all the statements and documents with which he had come provided, and humbly requested a prompt decision. Such a result was of course out of the question. Moreover, the Cortes of Tarragona, which happened then to be in session, and which required the royal attention, supplied the monarch with a fresh excuse for indulging in his habitual vacillation.² Meantime, by way of obtaining additional counsel in so grave an emergency, he transmitted the letters of the nobles, together with the other papers, to the Duke of Alva, and requested his opinion on the subject.³ Alva replied with the roar of a wild beast.

"Every time," he wrote, "that I see the despatches of those three Flemish seigniors my rage is so much excited that if I did not use all possible efforts to restrain it my sentiments would seem those of a madman."⁴ After this splenitive exordium he proceeded to express the opinion that all the hatred and complaints against the cardinal had arisen from his opposition to the convocation of the States-General. With regard to persons who had so richly deserved such chastisement, he recommended "that their heads should be taken off; but,

¹ Strada, iii. 130.

² Ibid.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 271.

⁴ "Cada vez que veo los despachos de aquellos tres señores me muevan la colera, de manera que si no procurasse mucho templanla, creo pareceria à V. M. mi opinion de hombre frenetico," etc.—G. v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 175–177.

until this could be done, that the king should dissemble with them." He advised Philip not to reply to their letters, but merely to intimate, through the regent, that their reasons for the course proposed by them did not seem satisfactory. He did not prescribe this treatment of the case as "a true remedy, but only as a palliative; because for the moment only weak medicines could be employed, from which, however, but small effect could be anticipated."¹ As to recalling the cardinal, "as they had the impudence to propose to his Majesty," the duke most decidedly advised against the step. In the meantime, and before it should be practicable to proceed "to that vigorous chastisement already indicated," he advised separating the nobles as much as possible by administering flattery and deceitful caresses to Egmont, who might be entrapped more easily than the others.

Here, at least, was a man who knew his own mind. Here was a servant who could be relied upon to do his master's bidding whenever this master should require his help. The vigorous explosion of wrath with which the duke thus responded to the first symptoms of what he regarded as rebellion gave a feeble intimation of the tone which he would assume when that movement should have reached a more advanced stage. It might be guessed what kind of remedies he would one day prescribe in place of the "mild medicines" in which he so reluctantly acquiesced for the present.

While this had been the course pursued by the seigniors, the regent, and the king, in regard to that all-absorbing subject of Netherland politics, the struggle

¹ ". . . que no se pueden aplicar sino medicinas muy flojas y dudando mucho de la operacion que podran hazer."—G. v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 175–177.

against Granvelle, the cardinal, in his letters to Philip, had been painting the situation by minute daily touches, in a manner of which his pencil alone possessed the secret.

Still maintaining the attitude of an injured but forgiving Christian, he spoke of the nobles in a tone of gentle sorrow. He deprecated any rising of the royal wrath in his behalf; he would continue to serve the gentlemen, whether they would or no; he was most anxious lest any considerations on his account should interfere with the king's decision in regard to the course to be pursued in the Netherlands. At the same time, notwithstanding these general professions of benevolence toward the nobles, he represented them as broken spendthrifts, wishing to create general confusion in order to escape from personal liabilities; as conspirators who had placed themselves within the reach of the attorney-general;¹ as ambitious malcontents who were disposed to overthrow the royal authority, and to substitute an aristocratic republic upon its ruins. He would say nothing to prejudice the king's mind against these gentlemen, but he took care to omit nothing which could possibly accomplish that result. He described them as systematically opposed to the policy which he knew lay nearest the king's heart, and as determined to assassinate the faithful minister who was so resolutely carrying it out, if his removal could be effected in no other way. He spoke of the state of religion as becoming more and more unsatisfactory, and bewailed the difficulty with which he could procure the burning of heretics—difficulties originating in the reluctance of men from whose elevated rank better things might have been expected.

As Granvelle is an important personage, as his char-

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 18, 19, sqq.

aeter has been alternately the subject of much censure and of more applause, and as the epoch now described was the one in which the causes of the great convulsion were rapidly germinating, it is absolutely necessary that the reader should be placed in a position to study the main character as painted by his own hand—the hand in which were placed, at that moment, the destinies of a mighty empire. It is the historian's duty, therefore, to hang the picture of his administration fully in the light. At the moment when the 11th of March letter was despatched, the cardinal represented Orange and Egmont as endeavoring by every method of menace or blandishment to induce all the grand seigniors and petty nobles to join in the league against himself. They had quarreled with Aerschot and Arcmborg, they had more than half seduced Berlaymont, and they stigmatized all who refused to enter into their league as cardinalists and familiars of the Inquisition.¹ He protested that he should regard their ill will with indifference, were he not convinced that he was himself only a pretext, and that their designs were really much deeper.² Since the return of Montigny, the seigniors had established a league which that gentleman and his brother, Count Horn, had both joined. He would say nothing concerning the defamatory letters and pamphlets of which he was the constant object, for he wished no heed taken of matters which concerned exclusively himself. Notwithstanding this disclaimer, however, he rarely omitted to note the appearance of all such productions for his Majesty's especial information. "It was better to calm men's spirits," he said, "than to excite them." As to

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 5, 11-21, 18, 19, sqq.

² *Ibid.*

fostering quarrels among the seigniors, as the king had recommended, that was hardly necessary, for discord was fast sowing its own seeds. "It gave him much pain," he said, with a Christian sigh, "to observe that such dissensions had already arisen, and unfortunately on his account."¹ He then proceeded circumstantially to describe the quarrel between Aerschot and Egmont, already narrated by the regent, omitting in his statement no particular which could make Egmont reprehensible in the royal eyes. He likewise painted the quarrel between the same noble and Aremberg, to which he had already alluded in previous letters to the king, adding that many gentlemen, and even the more prudent part of the people, were dissatisfied with the course of the grandees, and that he was taking underhand but dexterous means to confirm them in such sentiments.² He instructed Philip how to reply to the letter addressed to him, but begged his Majesty not to hesitate to sacrifice him if the interests of his crown should seem to require it.³

With regard to religious matters, he repeatedly deplored that, notwithstanding his own exertions and those of Madame de Parma, things were not going on as he desired, but, on the contrary, very badly. "For the love of God and the service of the holy religion," he cried out fervently, "put your royal hand valiantly to the work, otherwise we have only to exclaim, 'Help, Lord, for we perish!'"⁴ Having uttered this pious exhortation in the ear of a man who needed no stimulant

¹ "Pero pèsa me que la primera causa tome fundamento sobre lo que me toca."—Papiers d'État, vii. 5, 11–21, 18, 19, sqq.

² "Y yo procuro diestramente y so mano de informarlos como conviene," etc.—Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., vii. 83.

in the path of persecution, he proceeded to express his regrets that the judges and other officers were not taking in hand the chastisement of heresy with becoming vigor.¹

Yet at that very moment Peter Titelmann was raging through Flanders, tearing whole families out of bed and burning them to ashes, with such utter disregard to all laws or forms as to provoke in the very next year a solemn protest from the four estates of Flanders; and Titelmann was but one of a dozen inquisitors.

Granvelle, however, could find little satisfaction in the exertions of subordinates so long as men in high station were remiss in their duties. The Marquis Berghen, he informed Philip, showed but little disposition to put down heresy in Valenciennes, while Montigny was equally remiss at Tournay.² They were often heard to say, to any who chose to listen, that it was not right to inflict the punishment of death for matters of religion.³ This sentiment, uttered in that age of blood and fire, and crowning the memory of those unfortunate nobles with eternal honor, was denounced by the churchman as criminal and deserving of castigation. He intimated, moreover, that these pretenses of clemency were mere hypocrisy, and that self-interest was at the bottom of their compassion. "'T is very black," said he,⁴ "when interest governs; but these men are all in debt, so deeply that they owe their very souls. They are seeking every means of escaping from their obligations, and are most desirous of creating general confusion." As to the Prince of Orange, the cardinal asserted that he owed nine hundred thousand florins, and had hardly

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 33.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 45-51.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Y es la negra quando domina el interesse y no me espanto que deven todos el alma y cada dia gastan mas," etc.—*Ibid.*

twenty-five thousand a year clear income, while he spent ninety thousand, having counts, barons, and gentlemen in great numbers in his household.¹ At this point he suggested that it might be well to find employment for some of these grandees in Spain and other dominions of his Majesty, adding that perhaps Orange might accept the vicereignty of Sicily.²

Resuming the religious matter a few weeks later, he expressed himself a little more cheerfully. "We have made so much outcry," said he, "that at last Marquis Berghen has been forced to burn a couple of heretics at Valenciennes. Thus it is obvious," moralized the cardinal, "that if he were really willing to apply the remedy in that place, much progress might be made, but that we can do but little so long as he remains in the government of the provinces and refuses to assist us."³ In a subsequent letter he again uttered complaints against the marquis and Montigny, who were evermore his scapegoats and bugbears. Berghen will give us no aid, he wrote, despite of all the letters we send him. He absents himself for private and political reasons. Montigny has eaten meat in Lent, as the Bishop of Tournay informs me.⁴ Both he and the marquis say openly that it is not right to shed blood for matters of faith, so that the king can judge how much can be effected with such coadjutors.⁵ Berghen avoids

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 45-51.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 51.

³ ". . . y se ha gridado tanto que al cabo el Marques de Berghe ha hecho quemar dos hereges en Valencianes sin ruydo . . . que si de veras se quiriessse atender el remedio de aquella tierra mucho se podria aprovechar; pero no lo podremos hazer mientras està en quel gobierno si el no quiere ny de otra manera que por su meno."—*Ibid.*, vii. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*

the persecution of heretics, wrote the cardinal again, a month later, to Secretary Perez. He has gone to Spa for his health, although those who saw him last say he is fat and hearty.¹ Granvelle added, however, that they had at last "burned one more preacher alive." The heretic, he stated, had feigned repentance to save his life, but finding that, at any rate, his head would be cut off as a dogmatizer, he retracted his recantation. "So," concluded the cardinal, complacently, "they burned him."²

He chronicled the sayings and doings of the principal personages in the Netherlands, for the instruction of the king, with great regularity, insinuating suspicions when unable to furnish evidence, and adding charitable apologies, which he knew would have but small effect upon the mind of his correspondent. Thus he sent an account of a "very secret meeting" held by Orange, Egmont, Horn, Montigny, and Berghen at the abbey of La Forest,³ near Brussels, adding that he did not know what they had been doing there, and was at loss what to suspect. He would be most happy, he said, to put the best interpretation upon their actions, but he could not help remembering with great sorrow the observation so recently made by Orange to Montigny that one day they should be stronger. Later in the year the cardinal informed the king that the same nobles were holding a conference at Weerdt, that he had not learned what had been transacted there, but thought the affair very suspicious.⁴ Philip immediately communicated the intelligence to Alva, together with an expression of Granvelle's

1 "Bueno y gordo."—*Papiers d'État*, vii. 105.

2 "Y assi le quemaron."—*Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, vii. 69.

4 *Ibid.*, vii. 266. *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 275.

fears and of his own that a popular outbreak would be the consequence of the continued presence of the minister in the Netherlands.¹

The cardinal omitted nothing in the way of anecdote or innuendo which could injure the character of the leading nobles, with the exception, perhaps, of Count Egmont. With this important personage, whose character he well understood, he seemed determined, if possible, to maintain friendly relations. There was a deep policy in this desire, to which we shall advert hereafter. The other seigniors were described in general terms as disposed to overthrow the royal authority. They were bent upon Granvelle's downfall as the first step, because, that being accomplished, the rest would follow as a matter of course.² "They intend," said he, "to reduce the state into the form of a republic, in which the king shall have no power except to do their bidding."³ He added that he saw with regret so many German troops gathering on the borders, for he believed them to be in the control of the disaffected nobles of the Netherlands.⁴ Having made this grave insinuation, he proceeded in the same breath to express his anger at a statement said to have been made by Orange and Egmont, to the effect that he had charged them with intending to excite a civil commotion, an idea, he added, which had never entered his head.⁵ In the same paragraph he poured into the most

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 277.

² "Quieren dar en mi primero porque hecho esto va lo demas su passo."—Papiers d'État, vii. 167.

³ "Y querrian reduzir esto en forma de republica, en la qual no pudiesse el Rey sino que ellos quisiessen."—Ibid., vii. 165.

⁴ Ibid. Compare G. v. Prinst., Archives, etc. Supplement, 14–16.

⁵ Papiers d'État, vii. 167: "Procuravan de levantar estos pueblos . . . lo quele jamas me passo por consamiento."

suspicious ear that ever listened to a tale of treason his conviction that the nobles were planning a republic by the aid of foreign troops, and uttered a complaint that these nobles had accused him of suspecting them. As for the Prince of Orange, he was described as eternally boasting of his influence in Germany, and the great things which he could effect by means of his connections there, "so that," added the cardinal, "we hear no other song."

He had much to say concerning the projects of these grandees to abolish all the councils but that of state, of which body they intended to obtain the entire control. Marquis Berghen was represented as being at the bottom of all these intrigues. The general and evident intention was to make a thorough change in the form of government.¹ The marquis meant to command in everything, and the duchess would soon have nothing to do in the provinces as regent for the king. In fact, Philip himself would be equally powerless, "for," said the cardinal, "they will have succeeded in putting your Majesty completely under guardianship."² He added, moreover, that the seigniors, in order to gain favor with the people and with the estates, had allowed them to acquire so much power that they would respond to any request for subsidies by a general popular revolt. "This is the simple truth," said Granvelle, "and moreover, by the same process, in a very few days there will likewise be no religion left in the land."³ When the deputies of some of the states, a few weeks later, had been irregu-

¹ "En fin el punto es que querrian mudar esta forma de gobierno."—*Papiers d'État*, vii. 186, 187.

² ". . . pues havrian acabado de poner la en tutela."—*Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

larly convened in Brussels for financial purposes, the cardinal informed the monarch that the nobles were endeavoring to conciliate their good will by offering them a splendid series of festivities and banquets.

He related various anecdotes which came to his ears from time to time, all tending to excite suspicions as to the loyalty and orthodoxy of the principal nobles. A gentleman coming from Burgundy had lately, as he informed the king, been dining with the Prince of Orange, with whom Horn and Montigny were then lodging. At table, Montigny called out in a very loud voice to the strange cavalier, who was seated at a great distance from him, to ask if there were many Huguenots in Burgundy. No, replied the gentleman, nor would they be permitted to exist there. Then there can be very few people of intelligence in that province, returned Montigny, for those who have any wit are mostly all Huguenots.¹ The Prince of Orange here endeavored to put a stop to the conversation, saying that the Burgundians were very right to remain as they were; upon which Montigny affirmed that he had heard masses enough lately to last him for three months.² These things may be jests, commented Granvelle, but they are very bad ones; ³ and 't is evident that such a man is an improper instrument to remedy the state of religious affairs in Tournay.

At another large party, the king was faithfully informed by the same chronicler ⁴ that Marquis Berghen had been teasing the Duke of Aerschot very maliciously because he would not join the league. The duke had

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 187, 188.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Devian de ser burlas pero malas me parecen."—*Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 190–194.

responded, as he had formerly done to Egmont, that his Majesty was not to receive laws from his vassals; adding that, for himself, he meant to follow in the loyal track of his ancestors, fearing God and honoring the king. In short, said Granvelle, he answered them with so much wisdom that, although they had never a high opinion of his capacity, they were silenced. This conversation had been going on before all the servants, the marquis being especially vociferous, although the room was quite full of them. As soon as the cloth was removed, and while some of the lackeys still remained, Berghen had resumed the conversation. He said he was of the same mind as his ancestor, John of Berghen, had been, who had once told the king's grandfather, Philip the Fair, that if his Majesty was bent on his own perdition, *he* had no disposition to ruin *himself*. If the present monarch means to lose these provinces by governing them as he did govern them, the marquis affirmed that he had no wish to lose the little property that he himself possessed in the country. "But if," argued the Duke of Aerschot, "the king absolutely refuse to do what you demand of him—what then?" "*Par la cordieu!*" responded Berghen, in a rage, "we will let him see"; whereupon all became silent.¹

Granvelle implored the king to keep these things entirely to himself, adding that it was quite necessary for his Majesty to learn in this manner what were the real dispositions of the gentlemen of the provinces. It was also stated in the same letter that a ruffian Genoese, who had been ordered out of the Netherlands by the

¹ " 'Que seria?' respondiò el Marques con colerà, 'par la cordieu, nous luy ferons voir!' Sobre que callaron todos."—Papiers d'État, vii. 190–194.

regent because of a homicide he had committed, was kept at Weerdt, by Count Horn, for the purpose of murdering the cardinal.¹

He affirmed that he was not allowed to request the expulsion of the assassin from the count's house; but that he would take care, nevertheless, that neither this ruffian nor any other should accomplish his purpose. A few weeks afterward, expressing his joy at the contradiction of a report that Philip had himself been assassinated, Granvelle added: "I too, who am but a worm in comparison, am threatened on so many sides that many must consider me already dead. Nevertheless, I will endeavor, with God's help, to live as long as I can, and if they kill me, I hope they will not gain everything."² Yet, with characteristic Jesuitism, the cardinal could not refrain, even in the very letter in which he detailed the rebellious demonstrations of Berghen and the murderous schemes of Horn, to protest that he did not say these things "to *prejudice his Majesty against any one*, but only that it might be known to what a height the impudence was rising."³ Certainly the king and the ecclesiastic, like the Roman soothsayers, would have laughed in each other's face, could they have met, over the hollowness of such demonstrations. Granvelle's letters were filled, for the greater part, with pictures of treason, stratagem, and bloody intentions, fabricated mostly out of reports, table-talk, disjointed chat in the careless freedom of domestic intercourse, while at the

¹ Papiers d'État, vii. 190-194.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 284.

³ "No digo esto parer alterar à V. M. contra nadie, mas solo paraque conosca que crece la desverguença," etc.—Papiers d'État, vii. 190-194.

same time a margin was always left to express his own wounded sense of the injurious suspicions uttered against him by the various subjects of his letters. "God knows," said he to Perez, "that I always speak of them with respect, which is more than they do of me. But God forgive them all. In times like these, one must hold one's tongue. One must keep still, in order not to stir up a hornets' nest."¹

In short, the cardinal, little by little, during the last year of his residence in the Netherlands, was enabled to spread a canvas before his sovereign's eye, in which certain prominent figures, highly colored by patiently accumulated touches, were represented as driving a whole nation, against its own will, into manifest revolt. The estates and the people, he said, were already tired of the proceedings of the nobles, and those personages would find themselves very much mistaken in thinking that men who had anything to lose would follow them when they began a rebellion against his Majesty.² On the whole, he was not desirous of prolonging his own residence, although, to do him justice, he was not influenced by fear. He thought or affected to think that the situation was one of a factitious popular discontent, procured by the intrigues of a few ambitious and impoverished Catilines and Cethegi—not a rising rebellion such as the world had never seen, born of the slowly awakened wrath of a whole people, after the martyrdom of many years. The remedy that he recommended was that his Majesty should come in person to the provinces. The monarch would cure the whole disorder as soon as

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 291: "Por no irritar crábrones."

² Papiers d'État, vii. 264.

he appeared, said the cardinal, by merely making the sign of the cross.¹ Whether, indeed, the rapidly increasing cancer of national discontent would prove a mere king's evil, to be healed by the royal touch, as many persons besides Granvelle believed, was a point not doomed to be tested. From that day forward Philip began to hold out hopes that he would come to administer the desired remedy, but even then it was the opinion of good judges that he would give millions rather than make his appearance in the Netherlands.² It was even the hope of William of Orange that the king would visit the provinces. He expressed his desire, in a letter to Lazarus Schwendi, that his sovereign should come in person, that he might see whether it had been right to sow so much distrust between himself and his loyal subjects.³ The prince asserted that it was impossible for any person not on the spot to imagine the falsehoods and calumnies circulated by Granvelle and his friends, accusing Orange and his associates of rebellion and heresy, in the most infamous manner in the world. He added, in conclusion, that he could write no more, for the mere thought of the manner in which the government of the Netherlands was carried on filled him with disgust and rage.⁴ This letter, together with one in a similar strain from Egmont, was transmitted by the valiant and highly intellectual soldier to whom they were addressed to the King of Spain, with an entreaty that he would take warning from the bitter truths which they contained. The colonel, who was a most trusty

¹ "Y con su presencia se podrian remediar sanctiguando."—*Papiers d'État*, vii. 264.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 184.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 290.

friend of Orange, wrote afterward to Margaret of Parma in the same spirit, warmly urging her to moderation in religious matters. This application highly enraged Morillon, the cardinal's most confidential dependent, who accordingly conveyed the intelligence to his already departed chief, exclaiming in his letter, "What does the ungrateful baboon mean by meddling with our affairs? A pretty state of things, truly, if kings are to choose or retain their ministers at the will of the people; little does he know of the disasters which would be caused by a relaxation of the edicts."¹ In the same sense, the cardinal, just before his departure, which was now imminent, wrote to warn his sovereign of the seditious character of the men who were then placing their breasts between the people and their butchers. He assured Philip that upon the movement of those nobles depended the whole existence of the country. It was time that they should be made to open their eyes. They should be solicited in every way to abandon their evil courses, since the liberty which they thought themselves defending was but abject slavery, but subjection to a thousand base and contemptible personages, and to that "vile animal called the people."²

It is sufficiently obvious, from the picture which we have now presented of the respective attitudes of Granvelle, of the seigniors, and of the nation, during the whole of the year 1563 and the beginning of the following year, that a crisis was fast approaching. Granvelle was, for the moment, triumphant; Orange, Egmont, and Horn had abandoned the state council; Philip could not yet make up his mind to yield to the storm; and Alva

¹ "De quoi se mesle cet ingrât baboin," etc.—Papiers d'État, viii. 427.

² Ibid., vii. 367.

howled defiance at the nobles and the whole people of the Netherlands. Nevertheless, Margaret of Parma was utterly weary of the minister, the cardinal himself was most anxious to be gone, and the nation—for there was a nation, however vile the animal might be—was becoming daily more enraged at the presence of a man in whom, whether justly or falsely, it beheld the incarnation of the religious oppression under which it groaned. Meantime, at the close of the year, a new incident came to add to the gravity of the situation. Caspar Schetz, Baron of Grobbendonek, gave a great dinner-party in the month of December, 1563.¹ This personage, whose name was prominent for many years in the public affairs of the nation, was one of the four brothers who formed a very opulent and influential mercantile establishment. He was the king's principal factor and financial agent. He was one of the great pillars of the bourse at Antwerp. He was likewise a tolerable scholar, a detestable poet, an intriguing politician, and a corrupt financier. He was regularly in the pay of Sir Thomas Gresham, to whom he furnished secret information, for whom he procured differential favors, and by whose government he was rewarded by gold chains and presents of hard cash, bestowed as secretly as the equivalent was conveyed adroitly.² Nevertheless, although his venality was already more than suspected, and although his peculations during his long career became so extensive that he was eventually prosecuted by government, and died before the process was terminated, the Lord of Grobbendonek was often employed in most delicate negotiations, and at the present epoch was a man of much importance in the Netherlands.

¹ Hoofd, i. 39.

² Burgon, 365, 366, 367.

The treasurer-general accordingly gave his memorable banquet to a distinguished party of noblemen. The conversation during dinner turned, as was inevitable, upon the cardinal. His ostentation, greediness, insolence, were fully canvassed. The wine flowed freely as it always did in those Flemish festivities, the brains of the proud and reckless cavaliers became hot with excitement, while still the odious ecclesiastic was the topic of their conversation, the object alternately of fierce invective or of scornful mirth. The pompous display which he affected in his equipages, liveries, and all the appurtenances of his household had frequently excited their derision, and now afforded fresh matter for their ridicule. The customs of Germany, the simple habiliments in which the retainers of the greatest houses were arrayed in that country, were contrasted with the tinsel and glitter in which the prelate pranked himself. It was proposed, by way of showing contempt for Granvelle, that a livery should be forthwith invented as different as possible from his in general effect, and that all the gentlemen present should indiscriminately adopt it for their own menials. Thus would the people whom the cardinal wished to dazzle with his finery learn to estimate such gauds at their true value. It was determined that something extremely plain and in the German fashion should be selected. At the same time, the company, now thoroughly inflamed with wine, and possessed by the spirit of mockery, determined that a symbol should be added to the livery by which the universal contempt for Granvelle should be expressed. The proposition was hailed with acclamation, but who should invent the hieroglyphical costume? All were reckless and ready enough, but ingenuity of device was required. At last it was

determined to decide the question by hazard. Amid shouts of hilarity the dice were thrown. Those men were staking their lives, perhaps, upon the issue, but the reflection gave only a keener zest to the game. Egmont won.¹ It was the most fatal victory which he had ever achieved, a more deadly prize even than the trophies of St.-Quentin and Gravelines.

In a few days afterward the retainers of the house of Egmont surprised Brussels by making their appearance in a new livery. Doublet and hose of the coarsest gray, and long hanging sleeves, without gold or silver lace, and having but a single ornament, comprised the whole costume. An emblem which seemed to resemble a monk's cowl, or a fool's cap and bells, was embroidered upon each sleeve. The device pointed at the cardinal, as did, by contrast, the affected coarseness of the dress. There was no doubt as to the meaning of the hood, but they who saw in the symbol more resemblance to the jester's cap recalled certain biting expressions which Granvelle had been accustomed to use. He had been wont, in the days of his greatest insolence, to speak of the most eminent nobles as zanies, lunatics, and buffoons. The embroidered fool's cap was supposed to typify the gibe, and to remind the arrogant priest that a Brutus, as in the olden time, might be found lurking in the costume of the fool.² However witty or appropriate the invention, the livery had an immense success. According to agreement, the nobles who had dined with the treasurer ordered it for all their servants. Never did a new dress become so soon the fashion. The unpopularity of the minister assisted the quaintness of the device.

¹ Hoofd, i. 39, 40. Strada, iv. 132, 133. Bentivoglio, i. 17.

² Strada.

The fool's-cap livery became the rage. Never was such a run upon the haberdashers, mercers, and tailors since Brussels had been a city. All the frieze-cloth in Brabant was exhausted. All the serge in Flanders was clipped into monastic cowls. The duchess at first laughed with the rest, but the cardinal took care that the king should be at once informed upon the subject. The regent was perhaps not extremely sorry to see the man ridiculed whom she so cordially disliked, and she accepted the careless excuses made on the subject by Egmont and by Orange without severe criticism. She wrote to her brother that, although the gentlemen had been influenced by no evil intention, she had thought it best to exhort them not to push the jest too far.¹ Already, however, she found that two thousand pairs of sleeves² had been made, and the most she could obtain was that the fools' caps, or monks' hoods, should in future be omitted from the livery.³ A change was accordingly made in the costume at about the time of the cardinal's departure. A bundle of arrows, or in some instances a wheat-sheaf, was substituted for the cowls.⁴ Various interpretations were placed upon this new emblem. According to the nobles themselves, it denoted the union of all their hearts in the king's service, while their enemies insinuated that it was obviously a symbol of conspiracy.⁵ The costume thus amended was worn by the gentlemen themselves, as well as by their servants. Egmont dined at the regent's table, after the cardinal's departure, in a camlet doublet with

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 294-297.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Papiers d'État, vii. 455.

⁵ Strada, Hoofd, Bentivoglio, ubi sup.

hanging sleeves, and buttons stamped with the bundle of arrows.¹

For the present, the cardinal affected to disapprove of the fashion only from its rebellious tendency. The fools' caps and cowls, he meekly observed to Philip, were the least part of the offense, for an injury to himself could be easily forgiven. The wheat-sheaf and the arrow-bundles, however, were very vile things, for they betokened and confirmed the existence of a conspiracy such as never could be tolerated by a prince who had any regard for his own authority.²

This incident of the livery occupied the public attention and inflamed the universal hatred during the later months of the minister's residence in the country. Meantime the three seigniors had become very impatient at receiving no answer to their letter. Margaret of Parma was urging her brother to give them satisfaction, repeating to him their bitter complaints that their characters and conduct were the subject of constant misrepresentation to their sovereign, and picturing her own isolated condition. She represented herself as entirely deprived of the support of those great personages, who, despite her positive assurances to the contrary, persisted in believing that they were held up to the king as conspirators and were in danger of being

¹ "Portant une cabotte à leur mode de camelot sans unde, garnie de boutons d'argent, avec flesches, et le bonnet de mesmes boutons d'argent."—G. v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 263.

² "Muy ruin punto es el de la librea que han sacado aquellos señores y sus adherentes no por la invencion de las cabeças de locos y capirotos que es lo menos, sino porque parece dar confirmacion de liga cosa no çufridera debaxo de un principe que tenga cuenta con su authoridad en sus estados."—Papiers d'État, vii. 503.

punished as traitors.¹ Philip, on his part, was conning Granvelle's despatches, filled with hints of conspiracy, and holding counsel with Alva, who had already recommended the taking off several heads for treason. The Prince of Orange, who already had secret agents in the king's household, and was supplied with copies of the most private papers in the palace, knew better than to be deceived by the smooth representations of the regent. Philip had, however, at last begun secretly to yield. He asked Alva's advice² whether on the whole it would not be better to let the cardinal leave the Netherlands, at least for a time, on pretense of visiting his mother in Burgundy, and to invite Count Egmont to Madrid, by way of striking one link from the chain, as Granvelle had suggested. The duke had replied that he had no doubt of the increasing insolence of the three seigniors, as depicted in the letters of the Duchess Margaret, nor of their intention to make the cardinal their first victim, it being the regular principle, in all revolts against the sovereign, to attack the chief minister in the first place. He could not, however, persuade himself that the king should yield and Granvelle be recalled. Nevertheless, if it were to be done at all, he preferred that the cardinal should go to Burgundy without leave asked either of the duchess or of Philip, and that he should then write, declining to return, on the ground that his life was not safe in the Netherlands.³

After much hesitation the monarch at last settled upon a plan, which recommended itself through the extreme duplicity by which it was marked, and the

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 275, 276, 283.

² Papiers d'Etat, vii. 273, 291, 316.

³ Ibid., vii. 289-291.

complicated system of small deceptions which it consequently required. The king, who was never so thoroughly happy or at home as when elaborating the ingredients of a composite falsehood, now busily employed himself in his cabinet. He measured off in various letters to the regent, to the three nobles, to Egmont alone, and to Granvelle, certain proportionate parts of his whole plan, which, taken separately, were intended to deceive, and did deceive, nearly every person in the world, not only in his own generation, but for three centuries afterward, but which, arranged synthetically, as can now be done, in consequence of modern revelations, formed one complete and considerable lie, the observation of which furnishes the student with a lesson in the political chemistry of those days, which was called Machiavellian statesmanship. The termination of the Granvelle regency is, moreover, most important, not only for the grave and almost interminable results to which it led, but for the illustration which it affords of the inmost characters of the cardinal and "his master."

The courier who was to take Philip's letters to the three nobles was detained three weeks, in order to allow Armenteros, who was charged with the more important and secret despatches for the duchess and Granvelle, to reach Brussels first. All the letters, however, were ready at the same time. The letter of instructions for Armenteros enjoined upon that envoy to tell the regent that the heretics were to be chastised with renewed vigor, that she was to refuse to convoke the States-General under any pretext, and that if hard pressed she was to refer directly to the king. With regard to Granvelle, the secretary was to state *that his Majesty*

was still deliberating, and that the duchess would be informed as to the decision when it should be made. He was to express the royal astonishment that the seigniors should absent themselves from the state council, with a peremptory intimation that they should immediately return to their posts. As they had specified no particularities against the cardinal, the king *would still reflect upon the subject*.¹

He also wrote a private note to the duchess, stating that he had not yet sent the letters for the three nobles, because he wished that Armenteros should arrive before their courier.² He, however, inclosed two notes for Egmont,³ of which Margaret was to deliver that one which, in her opinion, was, under the circumstances, the best. In one of these missives the king cordially accepted, and in the other he politely declined, Egmont's recent offer to visit Spain. He also forwarded a private letter in his own handwriting to the cardinal. Armen-teros, who traveled but slowly on account of the state of his health, arrived in Brussels toward the end of February. Five or six days afterward, on the 1st March, namely,⁴ the courier arrived, bringing the despatches for the seigniors. In his letter to Orange, Egmont, and Horn, the king expressed his astonishment at their resolution to abstain from the state council. Nevertheless, said he, imperatively, fail not to return thither and to show how much more highly you regard my service and the good of the country than

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 285, 286.

² Correspondance de Guill^{me} le Tacit., ii. 67, 68.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 284, 285.

⁴ "Sur la chute du Cardinal de Granvelle," par M. Gachard (Bulletins de l'Academie Royale de Belgique, xvi., No. 6), p. 22.

any other particularity whatever.¹ As to Granvelle, continued Philip, since you will not make any specifications, my intention is to think over the matter longer, in order to arrange it as may seem most fitting.²

This letter was dated February 19 (1564),³ nearly a month later, therefore, than the secret letter to Granvelle, brought by Armenteros, although all the despatches had been drawn up at the same time and formed parts of the same plan. In this brief note to Granvelle, however, lay the heart of the whole mystery.

"I have reflected much," wrote the king, "on all that you have written me during these last few months concerning the ill will borne you by certain personages. I notice also your suspicions that if a revolt breaks out, they will commence with your person, thus taking occasion to proceed from that point to the accomplishment of their ulterior designs. I have particularly taken into consideration the notice received by you from the curate of St. Gudule, as well as that which you have learned *concerning the Genoese who is kept at Weerdt*; all which has given me much anxiety, as well from my desire for the preservation of your life, in which my service is so deeply interested, as for the possible results if anything should happen to you, which God forbid. I have thought, therefore, that *it would be well*, in order to give time and breathing-space to the hatred and rancor which those persons entertain toward you, and in order to see what course they will take in preparing the necessary remedy for the provinces, *for you to leave the country*

¹ Correspondance de Guill^{me} le Tacit., ii. 67, 68.

² "Puisque vous ne voulez dire les particularités, mon intention est d'y penser encoires pour y pourveoir comme il conviendra."—Ibid.

³ Ibid.

for some days, in order to visit your mother, and this with the knowledge of the duchess, my sister, and with her permission, which you will request, and which I have written to her that she must give, without allowing it to appear that you have received orders to that effect from me. You will also beg her to write to me requesting my approbation of what she is to do. By taking this course neither my authority nor yours will suffer prejudice; and according to the turn which things may take, measures may be taken for your return when expedient, and for whatever else there may be to arrange.”¹

Thus, in two words, Philip removed the unpopular minister forever. The limitation of his absence had no meaning, and was intended to have none. If there were not strength enough to keep the cardinal in his place, it was not probable that the more difficult task of reinstating him after his fall would be very soon attempted. It seemed, however, to be dealing more tenderly with Granvelle's self-respect thus to leave a vague opening for a possible return than to send him an unconditional dismissal.

Thus, while the king refused to give any weight to the representations of the nobles, and affected to be still deliberating whether or not he should recall the cardinal, he had in reality already recalled him. All the minute

¹ The text of this famous note is given in a paper extracted from the *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Bruxelles*, tom. xii., pp. 9, 10, by M. Gachard. That acute historical investigator, to whom the discovery of this secret billet is due, well remarks: “L'Académie comprendra la joie que me fit éprouver cette découverte; ce sont là des jouissances qui dédommagent de bien des fatigues, de bien des ennuis” (p. 9).

directions according to which permission was to be asked of the duchess to take a step which had already been prescribed by the monarch, and Philip's indulgence craved for obeying his own explicit injunctions, were fulfilled to the letter.

As soon as the cardinal received the royal order, he privately made preparations for his departure. The regent, on the other hand, delivered to Count Egmont the one of Philip's two letters in which that gentleman's visit was declined,¹ the duchess believing that, in the present position of affairs, she should derive more assistance from him than from the rest of the seigniors. As Granvelle, however, still delayed his departure, even after the arrival of the second courier, she was again placed in a situation of much perplexity. The three nobles considered Philip's letter to them extremely "dry and laconic,"² and Orange absolutely refused to comply with the order to reënter the state council. At a session of that body, on the 3d of March, where only Granvelle, Viglius, and Berlaymont were present, Margaret narrated her fruitless attempts to persuade the seigniors into obedience to the royal orders lately transmitted, and asked their opinions. The extraordinary advice was then given that "she should let them champ the bit a little while longer, and afterward see what was to be done."³ Even at the last moment, the cardinal, reluctant to acknowledge himself beaten, although secretly desirous to retire, was inclined for a parting

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 291-293.

² Correspondance de Guill^{mo} le Tacit., ii. 69, 70.

³ "Sur quoy sembla qu'elle devoit les laisser encoires quelque peu ronger le frain sur cecy et après regarder."—Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 294-297.

struggle. The duchess, however, being now armed with the king's express commands, and having had enough of holding the reins while such powerful and restive personages were "champing the bit," insisted privately that the cardinal should make his immediate departure known.¹ Pasquinades and pamphlets were already appearing daily, each more bitter than the other; the livery was spreading rapidly through all classes of people, and the seigniors most distinctly refused to recede from their determination of absenting themselves from the council so long as Granvelle remained.² There was no help for it, and on the 13th of March³ the cardinal took his departure. Notwithstanding the mystery of the whole proceeding, however, William of Orange was not deceived. He felt certain that the minister had been recalled, and thought it highly improbable that he would ever be permitted to return. "Although the cardinal talks of coming back again soon," wrote the prince to Schwarzburg, "we nevertheless hope that, as he lied about his departure, so he will also spare the truth in his present assertions."⁴ This was the general conviction, so far as the question of the minister's compulsory retreat was concerned, of all those who were in the habit of receiving their information and their opinions from the Prince of Orange. Many even thought that Granvelle had been recalled with indignity and much against his will. "When the cardinal," wrote Secretary Lorch to Count Louis, "received the king's order to go, he growled like a bear, and kept himself

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 294-297.

² Ibid.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 219.

⁴ Ibid., i. 277.

alone in his chamber for a time, making his preparations for departure. He says he shall come back in two months, but some of us think they will be two long months which will eat themselves up like money borrowed of the Jews.”¹ A wag, moreover, posted a large placard upon the door of Granvelle’s palace in Brussels as soon as the minister’s departure was known, with the inscription, in large letters, “For sale, immediately.”² In spite of the royal ingenuity, therefore, many shrewdly suspected the real state of the case, although but very few actually knew the truth.

The cardinal left Brussels with a numerous suite, stately equipages, and much parade. The duchess provided him with her own mules and with a sufficient escort, for the king had expressly enjoined that every care should be taken against any murderous attack. There was no fear of such assault, however, for all were sufficiently satisfied to see the minister depart. Brederode and Count Hoogstraaten were standing together, looking from the window of a house near the gate of Caudenberg, to feast their eyes with the spectacle of their enemy’s retreat. As soon as the cardinal had passed through that gate, on his way to Namur, the first stage of his journey, they rushed into the street, got both upon one horse, Hoogstraaten, who alone had boots on his legs, taking the saddle and Brederode the croup, and galloped after the cardinal, with the exultation of school-boys.³ Thus mounted, they continued to

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 223, 229: “Hatt er gebrombt wie ein bär, etc., . . . es werden zwen lange monate sein und gleich der Juden wucher ufflaufen und sich selber versichern.”

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ Papiers d’État, vii. 426.

escort the cardinal on his journey. At one time they were so near his carriage, while it was passing through a ravine, that they might have spoken to him from the heights above, where they had paused to observe him; but they pulled the capes of their cloaks over their faces and suffered him to pass unchallenged. "But they are young folk," said the cardinal, benignantly, after relating all these particulars to the duchess, "and one should pay little regard to their actions." He added that one of Egmont's gentlemen dogged their party on the journey, lodging in the same inns with them, apparently in the hope of learning something from their conversation or proceedings. If that were the man's object, however, Granvelle expressed the conviction that he was disappointed, as nothing could have been more merry than the whole company, or more discreet than their conversation.¹

The cardinal began at once to put into operation the system of deception, as to his departure, which had been planned by Philip. The man who had been ordered to leave the Netherlands by the king, and pushed into immediate compliance with the royal command by the duchess, proceeded to address letters both to Philip and Margaret. He wrote from Namur to beg the regent that she would not fail to implore his Majesty graciously to excuse his having absented himself for private reasons at that particular moment.² He wrote to Philip from Besançon, stating that his desire to visit his mother, whom he had not seen for nineteen years, and his natal soil, to which he had been a stranger during the same period, had induced him to take advantage of his brother's journey to accompany him for a few days

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 409, 410.

² *Ibid.*

into Burgundy.¹ He had, therefore, he said, obtained the necessary permission from the duchess, who had kindly promised to write very particularly by the first courier, to beg his Majesty's approval of the liberty which they had both taken.² He wrote from the same place to the regent again, saying that some of the nobles pretended to have learned from Armenteros that the king had ordered the cardinal to leave the country and not to return; all which, he added, was a very false Renardesque invention, at which he did nothing but laugh.³

As a matter of course, his brother, in whose company he was about to visit the mother whom he had not seen for the past nineteen years, was as much mystified as the rest of the world.⁴ Chantonay was not aware that anything but the alleged motives had occasioned the journey, nor did he know that his brother would perhaps have omitted to visit their common parent for nineteen years longer had he not received the royal order to leave the Netherlands.

Philip, on the other side, had sustained his part in the farce with much ability. Viglius, Berlaymont, Morillon, and all the lesser cardinalists were entirely taken in by the letters which were formally despatched to the duchess in reply to her own and the cardinal's notification. "I cannot take it amiss," wrote the king, "that you have given leave of absence to Cardinal de Granvelle, for two or three months, according to the advices just received from you, that he may attend to some private affairs of his own."⁵ As soon as these

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 483, 484.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 591.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 565.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vii. 600-638.

letters had been read in the council, Viglius faithfully transmitted them to Granvelle for that personage's enlightenment, adding his own innocent reflection that "this was very different language from that held by some people, that your most illustrious lordship had retired by order of his Majesty."¹ Morillon also sent the cardinal a copy of the same passage in the royal despatch, saying, very wisely, "I wonder what they will all say now, since these letters have been read in council."² The duchess, as in duty bound, denied flatly, on all occasions, that Armenteros had brought any letters recommending or ordering the minister's retreat.³ She conscientiously displayed the letters of his Majesty proving the contrary, and yet, said Viglius, it was very hard to prevent people talking as they liked.⁴ Granvelle omitted no occasion to mystify every one of his correspondents on the subject, referring, of course, to the same royal letters which had been written for public reading, expressly to corroborate these statements. "You see by his Majesty's letters to Madame de Parma," said he to Morillon, "how false is the report that the king had ordered me to leave Flanders, and in what confusion those persons find themselves who fabricated the story."⁵ It followed of necessity that he should carry out his part in the royal program, but he accomplished his task so adroitly, and with such redundancy of zeal, as to show his thorough sympathy with

¹ *Papiers d'État*, Letter of Viglius to Granvelle, 9th May, 1564.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 638.

³ "La duchesse renia fort et ferme que Armenteros avait apporté aucunes lettres de vostre restraicte, et monstroït bien par les dernières lettres de S. Maj. le contraire," etc.—*Ibid.*, vii. 653.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 108.

the king's policy. He dissembled with better grace, even if the king did it more naturally. Nobody was too insignificant to be deceived, nobody too august. Emperor Ferdinand fared no better than "Esquire" Bordey. "Some of those who hate me," he wrote to the potentate, "have circulated the report that I had been turned out of the country and was never to return. This story has ended in smoke, since the letters written by his Majesty to the Duchess of Parma on the subject of the leave of absence which she had given me."¹ Philip himself addressed a private letter to Granvelle, of course that others might see it, in which he affected to have just learned that the cardinal had obtained permission from the regent "to make a visit to his mother, in order to arrange certain family matters," and gravely gave his approbation to the step.² At the same time it was not possible for the king to resist the temptation of adding one other stroke of dissimulation to his own share in the comedy. Granvelle and Philip had deceived all the world, but Philip also deceived Granvelle. The cardinal made a mystery of his departure to Polwiller, Viglius, Morillon, to the emperor, to his own brother, and also to the king's secretary, Gonzalo Perez; but he was not aware that Perez, whom he thought himself deceiving as ingeniously as he had done all the others, had himself drawn up the letter of recall, which the king had afterward copied out in his own hand and marked "secret and confidential."³ Yet Granvelle might have guessed that in such an emergency Philip would hardly depend upon his own literary abilities.

Granvelle remained month after month in seclusion,

¹ *Papiers d'État*, viii. 113.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 218, 219.

³ M. Gachard, *Bull. de l'Acad. Roy.*, xii. 11.

doing his best to philosophize. Already, during the latter period of his residence in the Netherlands, he had lived in a comparative and forced solitude. His house had been avoided by those power-worshippers whose faces are rarely turned to the setting sun. He had, in consequence, already, before his departure, begun to discourse on the beauties of retirement, the fatigues of greatness, and the necessity of repose for men broken with the storms of state.¹ A great man was like a lake, he said, to which a thirsty multitude habitually resorted till the waters were troubled, sullied, and finally exhausted.² Power looked more attractive in front than in the retrospect. That which men possessed was ever of less value than that which they hoped.³ In this fine strain of eloquent commonplace the falling minister had already begun to moralize upon the vanity of human wishes. When he was established at his charming retreat in Burgundy, he had full leisure to pursue the theme. He remained in retirement till his beard grew to his waist,⁴ having vowed, according to report, that he would not shave till recalled to the Netherlands. If the report were true, said some of the gentlemen in the provinces, it would be likely to grow to his feet.⁵ He professed to wish himself blind and deaf,⁶ that he might have no knowledge of the world's events, described himself as buried in literature, and fit for no business save to remain in his chamber, fastened to his books, or occupied with private affairs and religious exercises.⁷

¹ "Optandum homini laboribus fracto requietem," etc.—Strada, iv. 135.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Papiers d'État, ix. 218, 219.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., viii. 91.

⁷ Ibid., viii. 91, 102. Groen v. Prinst., Archives, i. 428.

He possessed a most charming residence at Orchamps, where he spent a great portion of his time. In one of his letters to Vice-Chancellor Seld he described the beauties of this retreat with much delicacy and vigor. "I am really not as badly off here," said he, "as I should be in the Indies. I am in sweet places where I have wished for you a thousand times, for I am certain that you would think them appropriate for philosophy and worthy the habitation of the Muses. Here are beautiful mountains, high as heaven, fertile on all their sides, wreathed with vineyards, and rich with every fruit; here are rivers flowing through charming valleys, the waters clear as crystal, filled with trout, breaking into numberless cascades. Here are umbrageous groves, fertile fields, lovely meadows; on the one side great warmth, on the other side delectable coolness, despite the summer's heat. Nor is there any lack of good company, friends, and relations, with, as you well know, the very best wines in the world."¹

Thus it is obvious that the cardinal was no ascetic. His hermitage contained other appliances save those for study and devotion. His retired life was, in fact, that of a voluptuary. His brother Chantonnay reproached him with the sumptuousness and disorder of his establishment.² He lived in "good and joyous cheer." He professed to be thoroughly satisfied with the course things had taken, knowing that God was above all and would take care of all. He avowed his determination to extract pleasure and profit even from the ill will of his adversaries. "Behold my philosophy," he cried, "to live joyously as possible, laughing at the world, at

¹ *Papiers d'État*, viii. 115.

² Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 428 (note).

passionate people, and at all their calumnies.”¹ It is evident that his philosophy, if it had any real existence, was sufficiently Epicurean. It was, however, mainly compounded of pretense, like his whole nature and his whole life. Notwithstanding the mountains high as heaven, the cool grottoes, the trout, and the best Burgundy wines in the world, concerning which he desecanted so eloquently, he soon became in reality most impatient of his compulsory seclusion. His pretense of “composing himself as much as possible to tranquillity and repose”² could deceive none of the intimate associates to whom he addressed himself in that edifying vein. While he affected to be blind and deaf to politics, he had eyes and ears for nothing else. Worldly affairs were his element, and he was shipwrecked upon the charming solitude which he affected to admire. He was most anxious to return to the world again, but he had difficult cards to play. His master was even more dubious than usual about everything. Granvelle was ready to remain in Burgundy as long as Philip chose that he should remain there. He was also ready to go to “India, Peru, or into the fire,” whenever his king should require any such excursion, or to return to the Netherlands, confronting any danger which might lie in his path.³ It is probable that he nourished for a long time a hope that the storm would blow over in the provinces, and his resumption of power become possible. William of Orange, although more than half convinced that no attempt would be made to replace the minister, felt it necessary to keep strict watch on his movements.

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 240.

² Papiers d'État, viii. 91.

³ Ibid., viii. 103. Groen v. Prinst., i. 311.

"We must be on our guard," said he, "and not be deceived. Perhaps they mean to put us asleep, in order the better to execute their designs. For the present things are peaceable, and all the world is rejoiced at the departure of that good cardinal."¹ The prince never committed the error of undervaluing the talents of his great adversary, and he felt the necessity of being on the alert in the present emergency. "'T is a sly and cunning bird that we are dealing with," said he, "one that sleeps neither day nor night if a blow is to be dealt to us."² Honest Brederode, after solacing himself with the spectacle of his enemy's departure, soon began to suspect his return, and to express himself on the subject, as usual, with ludicrous vehemence. "They say the red fellow is back again," he wrote to Count Louis, "and that Berlaymont has gone to meet him at Namur. The devil after the two would be a good chase."³ Nevertheless, the chances of that return became daily fainter. Margaret of Parma hated the cardinal with great cordiality. She fell out of her servitude to him into far more contemptible hands, but for a brief interval she seemed to take a delight in the recovery of her freedom. According to Viglius, the court, after Granvelle's departure, was like a school of boys and girls when the pedagogue's back is turned.⁴ He was very bitter against the duchess for her manifest joy at emancipation.⁵ The poor president was treated with the most marked disdain by Margaret, who also took pains to show her dislike to all the cardinalists. Secretary Armenteros forbade Bordey, who was Granvelle's cousin

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, i. 226, 227.

² Ibid., i. 259.

³ Ibid., i. 305.

⁴ Vit. Viglii, 38.

⁵ Ibid.

and dependent, from even speaking to him in public.¹ The regent soon became more intimate with Orange and Egmont than she had ever been with the cardinal. She was made to see—and, seeing, she became indignant—the cipher which she had really been during his administration. “One can tell what’s o’clock,”² wrote Morillon to the fallen minister, “since she never writes to you nor mentions your name.” As to Armenteros, with whom Granvelle was still on friendly relations, he was restless in his endeavors to keep the once powerful priest from rising again. Having already wormed himself into the confidence of the regent, he made a point of showing to the principal seigniors various letters in which she had been warned by the cardinal to put no trust in them. “That devil,” said Armenteros, “thought he had got into Paradise here; but he is gone, and we shall take care that he never returns.”³ It was soon thought highly probable that the king was but temporizing, and that the voluntary departure of the minister had been a deception. Of course nothing was accurately known upon the subject; Philip had taken good care of that; but meantime the bets were very high that there would be no restoration, with but few takers. Men thought if there had been any royal favor remaining for the great man, that the duchess would not be so decided in her demeanor on the subject. They saw that she was scarlet with indignation whenever the cardinal’s name was mentioned.⁴ They heard her thank Heaven

Papiers d’État, vii. 593.

² “L’on peut facilement voir quelle heure il est,” etc.—Ibid., viii. 92–94.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., viii. 132: “Que son Alteze devient rouge comme escarlate quand l’on parle de V^e Sg^{ie},” etc.

that she had but one son, because if she had had a second he must have been an ecclesiastic, and as vile as priests always were.¹ They witnessed the daily contumely which she heaped upon poor Viglius, both because he was a friend of Granvelle and was preparing in his old age to take orders. The days were gone, indeed, when Margaret was so filled with respectful affection for the prelate that she could secretly correspond with the Holy Father at Rome and solicit the red hat for the object of her veneration. She now wrote to Philip, stating that she was better informed as to affairs in the Netherlands than she had ever formerly been. She told her brother that all the views of Granvelle and of his followers, Viglius with the rest, had tended to produce a revolution which they hoped that Philip would find in full operation when he should come to the Netherlands. It was their object, she said, to fish in troubled waters, and, to attain that aim, they had ever pursued the plan of gaining the exclusive control of all affairs. That was the reason why they had ever opposed the convocation of the States-General. They *feared that their books would be read*, and their frauds, injustice, simony, and rapine discovered.² This would be the result if tranquillity were restored to the country, and therefore they had done their best to foment and maintain discord. The duchess soon afterward entertained her royal brother with very detailed accounts of various acts of simony, peculation, and embezzlement committed by Viglius, which the cardinal had aided and abetted, and by which he had profited.³ These revela-

¹ Papiers d'État, viii. 132.

² Correspondance de Phil. II., i. 311-314.

³ Ibid., i. 318-320.

tions are inestimable in a historical point of view. They do not raise our estimate of Margaret's character, but they certainly give us a clear insight into the nature of the Granvelle administration. At the same time it was characteristic of the duchess that, while she was thus painting the portrait of the cardinal for the private eye of his sovereign, she should address the banished minister himself in a secret strain of condolence, and even of penitence. She wrote to assure Granvelle that she repented extremely having adopted the views of Orange. She promised that she would state publicly everywhere that the cardinal was an upright man, intact in his morals and his administration, a most zealous and faithful servant of the king.¹ She added that she recognized the obligations she was under to him, and that she loved him like a brother.² She affirmed that if the Flemish seigniors had induced her to cause the cardinal to be deprived of the government, she was already penitent, and that her fault deserved that the king, her brother, should cut off her head for having occasioned so great a calamity.³

There was certainly discrepancy between the language thus used simultaneously by the duchess to Granvelle and to Philip, but Margaret had been trained in the school of Machiavelli and had sat at the feet of Loyola.

The cardinal replied with equal suavity, protesting that such a letter from the duchess left him nothing more to desire, as it furnished him with an "entire and perfect justification" of his conduct.⁴ He was aware of

¹ Dom l'Evesque, ii. 71.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., ubi sup. He cites the MS. collection entitled "*Mémoires de Granvelle*," tom. 33, p. 67.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 71, 72. *Mémoires de Granvelle*, tom. 33, p. 95.

her real sentiments, no doubt, but he was too politic to quarrel with so important a personage as Philip's sister.

An incident which occurred a few months after the minister's departure served to show the general estimation in which he was held by all ranks of Netherlanders. Count Mansfeld celebrated the baptism of his son, Philip Octavian, by a splendid series of festivities at Luxemburg, the capital of his government. Besides the tournaments and similar sports, with which the upper classes of European society were accustomed at that day to divert themselves, there was a grand masquerade, to which the public were admitted as spectators. In this "mummery" the most successful spectacle was that presented by a group arranged in obvious ridicule of Granvelle. A figure dressed in cardinal's costume, with the red hat upon his head, came pacing through the arena upon horseback. Before him marched a man attired like a hermit, with long white beard, telling his beads upon a rosary which he held ostentatiously in his hands. Behind the mounted cardinal came the devil, attired in the usual guise considered appropriate to the prince of darkness, who scourged both horse and rider with a whip of foxtails, causing them to scamper about the lists in great trepidation, to the immense delight of the spectators. The practical pun upon Simon Renard's name embodied in the foxtail, with the allusion to the effect of the manifold squibs perpetrated by that most bitter and lively enemy upon Granvelle, was understood and relished by the multitude. Nothing could be more hearty than the blows bestowed upon the minister's representative, except the applause with which this satire, composed of actual fustigation, was received. The humorous spectacle ab-

sorbed all the interest of the masquerade, and was frequently repeated. It seemed difficult to satisfy the general desire to witness a thorough chastisement of the culprit.¹

The incident made a great noise in the country. The cardinalists felt naturally very much enraged, but they were in a minority. No censure came from the government at Brussels, and Mansfeld was then and for a long time afterward the main pillar of royal authority in the Netherlands. It was sufficiently obvious that Granvelle, for the time at least, was supported by no party of any influence.

Meantime he remained in his seclusion. His unpopularity did not, however, decrease in his absence. More than a year after his departure, Berlaymont said the nobles detested the cardinal more than ever, and would eat him alive if they caught him.² The chance of his returning was dying gradually out. At about the same period Chantonnay advised his brother to show his teeth.³ He assured Granvelle that he was too quiet in his disgrace, reminded him that princes had warm affections when they wished to make use of people, but that when they could have them too cheaply they esteemed them but little, making no account of men whom they were accustomed to see under their feet. He urged the cardinal, in repeated letters, to take heart again, to make himself formidable, and to rise from his crouching attitude. All the world say, he remarked, that the game is up between the king and yourself, and

¹ *Papiers d'État*, viii. 76, 77, 92-94.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 235.

³ “. . . monstrar le visage et les dents,” etc.—*Ibid.*, ix. 186, 187.

before long every one will be laughing at you and holding you for a dupe.¹

Stung or emboldened by these remonstrances, and weary of his retirement, Granvelle at last abandoned all intention of returning to the Netherlands, and toward the end of 1565 departed to Rome, where he participated in the election of Pope Pius V. Five years afterward he was employed by Philip to negotiate the treaty between Spain, Rome, and Venice against the Turk. He was afterward viceroy of Naples, and in 1575 he removed to Madrid to take an active part in the management of the public business, "the disorder of which," says the Abbé Boisot, "could be no longer arrested by men of mediocre capacity."² He died in that city on the 21st September, 1586, at the age of seventy, and was buried at Besançon.³

We have dwelt at length on the administration of this remarkable personage, because the period was one of vital importance in the history of the Netherland commonwealth. The minister who deals with the country at an epoch when civil war is imminent has at least as heavy a responsibility upon his head as the man who goes forth to confront the armed and full-grown rebellion. All the causes out of which the great revolt was born were in violent operation during the epoch of Granvelle's power. By the manner in which he comported himself in presence of those dangerous and active elements of the coming convulsions must his character as a historical personage be measured. His individuality had so much to do with the course of the

¹ *Papiers d'État*, ix. 184-187.

² *Ibid.* Notice préliminaire de M. Ch. Weisz.

³ *Ibid.*

government, the powers placed in his hands were so vast, and his energy so untiring, that it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of his influence upon the destiny of the country which he was permitted to rule. It is for this reason that we have been at great pains to present his picture, sketched as it were by his own hand. A few general remarks are, however, necessary. It is the historian's duty to fix upon one plain and definite canvas the chameleon colors in which the subtle cardinal produced his own image. Almost any theory concerning his character might be laid down and sustained by copious citations from his works; nay, the most opposite conclusions as to his interior nature may be often drawn from a single one of his private and interminable letters. Embarked under his guidance, it is often difficult to comprehend the point to which we are tending. The oarsman's face beams upon us with serenity, but he looks in one direction and rows in the opposite course. Even thus it was three centuries ago. Was it to be wondered at that many did not see the precipice toward which the bark which held their all was gliding under the same impulse?

No man has ever disputed Granville's talents. From friend and foe his intellect has received the full measure of applause which it could ever claim. No doubt his genius was of a rare and subtle kind. His great power was essentially dramatic in its nature. He mastered the characters of the men with whom he had to deal, and then assumed them. He practised this art mainly upon personages of exalted station, for his scheme was to govern the world by acquiring dominion over its anointed rulers. A smooth and supple slave in appearance, but in reality, while his power lasted, the despot

of his masters, he exercised boundless control by enacting their parts with such fidelity that they were themselves deceived. It is impossible not to admire the facility with which this accomplished Proteus successively assumed the characters of Philip and of Margaret, through all the complicated affairs and voluminous correspondence of his government.

When envoys of high rank were to be despatched on confidential missions to Spain, the cardinal drew their instructions as the duchess, threw light upon their supposed motives in secret letters as the king's sister, and answered their representations with ponderous wisdom as Philip, transmitting despatches, letters, and briefs for royal conversations in time to be thoroughly studied before the advent of the ambassador. Whoever traveled from Brussels to Madrid in order to escape the influence of the ubiquitous cardinal was sure to be confronted with him in the inmost recesses of the king's cabinet as soon as he was admitted to an audience. To converse with Philip or Margaret was but to commune with Anthony. The skill with which he played his game, seated quietly in his luxurious villa, now stretching forth one long arm to move the king at Madrid, now placing Margaret upon what square he liked, and dealing with bishops, Knights of the Fleece, and lesser dignitaries, the Richardots, the Morillons, the Viglii, and the Berlaymonts, with sole reference to his own scheme of action, was truly of a nature to excite our special wonder. His aptitude for affairs and his power to read character were extraordinary; but it was necessary that the affairs should be those of a despotism, and the characters of an inferior nature. He could read Philip and Margaret, Egmont or Berlaymont, Alva or

Viglius, but he had no plummet to sound the depths of a mind like that of William the Silent. His genius was adroit and subtle, but not profound. He aimed at power by making the powerful subservient, but he had not the intellect which deals in the daylight face to face with great events and great minds. In the violent political struggle of which his administration consisted, he was foiled and thrown by the superior strength of a man whose warfare was open and manly, and who had no defense against the poisoned weapons of his foe.

His literary accomplishments were very great. His fecundity was prodigious, and he wrote at will in seven languages. This polyglot facility was not in itself a very remarkable circumstance, for it grew out of his necessary education and geographical position. Few men in that age and region were limited to their mother-tongue. The Prince of Orange, who made no special pretense to learning, possessed at least five languages. Egmont, who was accounted an ignorant man, was certainly familiar with three. The cardinal, however, wrote not only with ease, but with remarkable elegance, vigor, and vivacity, in whatever language he chose to adopt. The style of his letters and other documents, regarded simply as compositions, was inferior to that of no writer of the age. His occasional orations, too, were esteemed models of smooth and flowing rhetoric, at an epoch when the art of eloquence was not much cultivated. Yet it must be allowed that beneath all the shallow but harmonious flow of his periods it would be idle to search for a grain of golden sand. Not a single sterling, manly thought is to be found in all his productions. If at times our admiration is excited with the appearance of a gem of true philosophy, we are

soon obliged to acknowledge, on closer inspection, that we have been deceived by a false glitter. In retirement his solitude was not relieved by serious application to any branch of knowledge. Devotion to science and to the advancement of learning, a virtue which has changed the infamy of even baser natures than his into glory, never dignified his seclusion. He had elegant tastes, he built fine palaces, he collected paintings, and he discoursed of the fine arts with the skill and eloquence of a practised connoisseur; but the nectared fruits of divine philosophy were but harsh and crabbed to him.

His moral characteristics are even more difficult to seize than his intellectual traits. It is a perplexing task to arrive at the intimate interior structure of a nature which hardly had an interior. He did not change, but he presented himself daily in different aspects. Certain peculiarities he possessed, however, which were unquestionable. He was always courageous, generally calm. Placed in the midst of a nation which hated him, exposed to the furious opposition of the most powerful adversaries, having hardly a friend except the cowardly Viglius and the pluralist Morillon, secretly betrayed by Margaret of Parma, insulted by rude grandees, and threatened by midnight assassins, he never lost his self-possession, his smooth arrogance, his fortitude. He was constitutionally brave. He was not passionate in his resentments. To say that he was forgiving by nature would be an immense error; but that he could put aside vengeance at the dictate of policy is very certain. He could temporize, even after the reception of what he esteemed grave injuries, if the offenders were powerful. He never manifested rancor against the duchess. Even after his fall from power in the Nether-

lands he interceded with the pope in favor of the principality of Orange, which the pontiff was disposed to confiscate. The prince was at that time as good a Catholic as the cardinal. He was apparently on good terms with his sovereign, and seemed to have a prosperous career before him. He was not a personage to be quarreled with. At a later day, when the position of that great man was most clearly defined to the world, the cardinal's ancient affection for his former friend and pupil did not prevent him from suggesting the famous ban by which a price was set upon his head, and his life placed in the hands of every assassin in Europe. It did not prevent him from indulging in the jocularly of a fiend when the news of the first-fruits of that bounty upon murder reached his ears.¹ It did not prevent him from laughing merrily at the pain which his old friend must have suffered, shot through the head and face with a musket-ball, and at the mutilated aspect which his "handsome face must have presented to the eyes of his apostate wife."² It did not prevent him from stoutly disbelieving and then refusing to be comforted when the recovery of the illustrious victim was announced. He could always dissemble

¹ "Les nouvelles," wrote Granvelle to Fonek, "qui arrivent de la mort du P^{ce} d'Orange ne sont pas mauvaises—*Dieu soit loué de tout.*" "L'on ha envoyé le Prince d'Orange," he wrote to Bellefontaine, "en l'autre monde, que y fut esté mieulx il y a xx ans." Again, a few days later, "C'est dommage que le Pr. d'Or. ne soit mort dois long tems. . . . Maintenant viennent nouvelles que le P. d'Or. est trespasé. Il ha vescu plus de xx ans plus qu'il ne convenoit."—Archives et Correspondance, viii, 76, 77.

² "Le Prince d'Orange ha enduré une poyne extreme, et vous pensez quel étoit son *beau visaige* pour donner contentement à sa nonnain apostate."—Ibid.

without entirely forgetting his grievances. Certainly, if he were the forgiving Christian he pictured himself, it is passing strange to reflect upon the ultimate fate of Egmont, Horn, Montigny, Berghen, Orange, and a host of others whose relations with him were inimical.

His extravagance was enormous, and his life luxurious. At the same time he could leave his brother Champagny—a man, with all his faults, of a noble nature, and with scarcely inferior talents to his own—to languish for a long time in abject poverty, supported by the charity of an ancient domestic.¹ His greediness for wealth was proverbial. No benefice was too large or too paltry to escape absorption if placed within his possible reach. Loaded with places and preferments, rolling in wealth, he approached his sovereign with the whine of a mendicant. He talked of his property as a “misery” when he asked for boons, and expressed his thanks in the language of a slave when he received them. Having obtained the abbey of St. Armand, he could hardly wait for the burial of the Bishop of Tournay before claiming the vast revenues of Afflighem, assuring the king as he did so that his annual income was but eighteen thousand crowns.² At the same time, while thus receiving or pursuing the vast rents of St. Armand and Afflighem,

¹ “J’avois presque oublié de vous mander l’extreme pauvreté où se retrouve à present le Sr de Champagny comme appert par les lettres qu’il escrit bien souvent au maistre des comptes Appeltain qui fut aultre fois son secrétaire, et de qui seul il est à present alimenté et sustenté.”—Extract of a letter of 15th December, 1576, in a large MS. collection of letters and documents in the Brussels Archives, entitled “Réconciliation des Provinces Wallones.” Archives du Royaume. Papiers d’État, ii. f. 160.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 336. Compare Gr. v. Prinst., Archives et Correspondance, i. 342.

he could seize the abbey of Trulle from the expectant hands of poor dependents, and accept tapestries and hogsheads of wine from Jacques Lequien and others as a tax on the benefices which he procured for them. Yet the man who, like his father before him, had so long fattened on the public money, who at an early day had incurred the emperor's sharp reproof for his covetousness, whose family, besides all these salaries and personal property, possessed already fragments of the royal domain in the shape of nineteen baronies and seigniories in Burgundy, besides the county of Cante-croix and other estates in the Netherlands, had the effrontery to affirm, "We have always rather regarded the service of the master than our own particular profit."¹

In estimating the conduct of the minister in relation to the provinces, we are met upon the threshold by a swarm of vague assertions which are of a nature to blind or distract the judgment. His character must be judged as a whole and by its general results, with a careful allowance for contradictions and equivocations. Truth is clear and single, but the lights are party-colored and refracted in the prism of hypocrisy. The great feature of his administration was a prolonged conflict between himself and the leading seigniors of the Netherlands. The ground of the combat was the religious question. Let the quarrel be turned or tortured in any manner that human ingenuity can devise, it still remains unquestionable that Granvelle's main object was to strengthen and to extend the Inquisition, that of his adversaries to overthrow the institution. It followed,

¹ "Car nous avons tousjours plus regardé au prouffit et service du maistre que à nostre particulier."—Papiers d'État, viii. 448.

necessarily, that the ancient charters were to be trampled in the dust before that tribunal could be triumphant. The nobles, although all Catholics, defended the cause of the poor religious martyrs, the privileges of the nation, and the rights of their order. They were conservatives, battling for the existence of certain great facts, entirely consonant to any theory of justice and divine reason—for ancient constitutions which had been purchased with blood and treasure. “I will maintain,” was the motto of William of Orange. Philip, bigoted and absolute almost beyond comprehension, might perhaps have proved impervious to any representations, even of Granvelle. Nevertheless, the minister might have attempted the task, and the responsibility is heavy upon the man who shared the power and directed the career, but who never ceased to represent the generous resistance of individuals to frantic cruelty as offenses against God and the king.

Yet extracts are drawn from his letters to prove that he considered the Spaniards as “proud and usurping,” that he indignantly denied ever having been in favor of subjecting the Netherlands to the soldiers of that nation, that he recommended the withdrawal of the foreign regiments, and that he advised the king, when he came to the country, to bring with him but few Spanish troops. It should, however, be remembered that he employed, according to his own statements, every expedient which human ingenuity could suggest to keep the foreign soldiers in the provinces, that he “lamented to his inmost soul” their forced departure, and that he did not consent to that measure until the people were in a tumult and the Zealanders threatening to lay the country under the ocean. “You may judge



MARGARET, DUCHESS OF PARMA
After the painting by A. Moro of Dashorst,
Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna.

of the means employed to excite the people," he wrote to Perez in 1563, "by the fact that a report is circulated that the Duke of Alva is coming hither to tyrannize the provinces."¹ Yet it appears by the admissions of Del Ryo, one of Alva's Blood-Council, that "Cardinal Granvelle expressly advised that an army of Spaniards should be sent to the Netherlands, to maintain the obedience to his Majesty and the Catholic religion, and that the Duke of Alva was appointed chief by the advice of Cardinal Spinosa, and by that of *Cardinal Granvelle*, as appeared by many letters written at the time to his friends."² By the same confessions it appeared that the course of policy thus distinctly recommended by Granvelle "was to place the country under a system of government like that of Spain and Italy, and to reduce it entirely under the council of Spain."³ When the terrible duke started on his errand of blood and fire, the cardinal addressed him a letter of fulsome flattery, protesting "that all the world knew that no person could be found so appropriate as he to be employed in an affair of such importance"; urging him to advance with his army as rapidly as possible upon the Netherlands; hoping that "the Duchess of Parma would not be allowed to consent that any pardon or concession should be made to the cities, by which the construction of fortresses would be interfered with, or the revocation of the charters which had been forfeited be prevented"; and giving him much advice as to the general measures to be adopted, and the persons to be employed upon his arrival, in which number the

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 250.

² The confessions of Del Ryo have been printed in the *Messenger des Arts et Sciences* (Gand, 1838), p. 466 sqq.

• Ibid.

infamous Noircarmes was especially recommended.¹ In a document found among his papers, these same points, with others, were handled at considerable length. The incorporation of the provinces into one kingdom, of which the king was to be crowned absolute sovereign; the establishment of a universal law for the Catholic religion, care being taken not to call that law inquisition, "because there was nothing so odious to the northern nations as the word *Spanish Inquisition*, although the *thing in itself be most holy and just*";² the abolition and annihilation of the broad or general council in the cities, the only popular representation in the country; the construction of many citadels and

¹ This remarkable letter has never been published. It is not in the Besançon Collection, but is among a quantity of letters written by Granvelle when at Rome, and which are now in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels. Its date is May 16, 1567. "Todavía," says the cardinal to the duke, "por ser todo en tanto servicio de Dios y de su M^d y en tanta reputacion de V^a Ex^a viendo todo el mundo que no se *podia emplear persona* que en cosa de tanta importancia fuesse *tanto à proposito*. . . . No querria que Madama se dexasse persuadir a que (non obstante de lo que su Mag^d lo ha scripto) consintiesse algo a las dichas villas *perdonando o de otra manera* que estorvaze a su Mag^d el camino y tiene *para hazer fortalezas* donde sera menester y de poder moderar los privilegios a las qui han perdido spetialmente . . . a que la corte no pudiesse proveer a poner *en ellas el govierno y orden que convenia* por su proprio beneficio. . . . Aremberg, Berlaymont, Viglius de que se puede V^a Ex^a fiar. Dr. Luis del Rio y Corteville podran dar a V^a Ex^a luz de lo que huviere de hablar. . . . Noircarmes conosee V. E^a que *lo ha hecho muy bien*," etc.

² "Bien entendu que la diete loy générale ne soit en aulcune manière appellée Inquisition, à cause que naturellement il n'y a chose qui soit tant odieuse à ces nations septentrionales que ce vocable de *l'Inquisition* d'Espagne, nonobstant que la chose de soy mesme et de son commencement soit saincte et honneste."

fortresses, to be garrisoned with Spaniards, Italians, and Germans—such were the leading features in that remarkable paper.¹

The manly and open opposition of the nobles was stigmatized as a cabal by the offended priest. He repeatedly whispered in the royal ear that their league was a treasonable conspiracy, which the attorney-general ought to prosecute; that the seigniors meant to subvert entirely the authority of the sovereign; that they meant to put their king under tutelage, to compel him to obey all their commands, to choose another prince of the blood for their chief, to establish a republic by the aid of foreign troops. If such insinuations, distilled thus secretly into the ear of Philip, who, like his predecessor, Dionysius, took pleasure in listening daily to charges against his subjects and to the groans of his prisoners,² were not likely to engender a dangerous gangrene in the royal mind, it would be difficult to indicate any course which would produce such a result. Yet the cardinal maintained that he had never done the gentlemen ill service, but that "they were angry with him for wishing to sustain the authority of the master." In almost every letter he expressed vague generalities

¹ Gr. v. Prinst., Archives, etc., Supplement, 73-79. The document is taken from the Granvelle Collection of papers at Besançon. It is not stated whether it is from the cardinal's pen, but there are certain expressions which (as well as its general tone) seem to point out the author beyond any reasonable doubt.

² "L'Archevêque de Cambray," writes Morillon to Granvelle, "m'at compté que le *Roy survint où il ouyt dire Montigny sans estre veu de luy*, que le Roy pouvoit faire ce qu'il vouloit, mas qu'il ne gaigneroit rien quant au Cardinal et que les Seigneurs n'en vouloient poinct," etc.—Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., Supplement, 85*.

of excuse, or even approbation, while he chronicled each daily fact which occurred to their discredit. The facts he particularly implored the king to keep to himself, the vague laudation he as urgently requested him to repeat to those interested. Perpetually dropping small innuendos like pebbles into the depths of his master's suspicious soul, he knew that at last the waters of bitterness would overflow, but he turned an ever-smiling face upon those who were to be his victims. There was ever something in his irony like the bland request of the inquisitor to the executioner that he would deal with his prisoners gently. There was about the same result in regard to such a prayer to be expected from Philip as from the hangman. Even if his criticisms had been uniformly indulgent, the position of the nobles and leading citizens, thus subjected to a constant but secret superintendence, would have been too galling to be tolerated. They did not know, so precisely as we have learned after three centuries, that all their idle words and careless gestures, as well as their graver proceedings, were kept in a noting-book to be pored over and conned by rote in the recesses of the royal cabinet and the royal mind; but they suspected the espionage of the cardinal, and they openly charged him with his secret malignity.

The men who refused to burn their fellow-creatures for a difference in religious opinion were stigmatized as demagogues; as ruined spendthrifts who wished to escape from their liabilities in the midst of revolutionary confusion; as disguised heretics who were waiting for a good opportunity to reveal their true characters. Montigny, who, as a Montmorency, was nearly allied to the constable and admiral of France, and was in

epistolary correspondence with those relatives, was held up as a Huguenot; of course, therefore, in Philip's eye, the most monstrous of malefactors.¹

Although no man could strew pious reflections and holy texts more liberally, yet there was always an after-thought even in his most edifying letters. A corner of the mask is occasionally lifted, and the deadly face of slow but abiding vengeance is revealed. "I know very well," he wrote, soon after his fall, to Viglius, "that vengeance is the Lord's—God is my witness that I pardon all the past." In the same letter, nevertheless, he added: "My theology, however, does not teach me that by enduring one is to enable one's enemies to commit even greater wrongs. If the royal justice is not soon put into play, I shall be obliged to right myself. This thing is going on too long—patience exhausted changes to fury. 'Tis necessary that every man should assist himself as he can, and when I choose to throw the game into confusion I shall do it perhaps more notably than the others." A few weeks afterward, writing to the same correspondent, he observed: "We shall have to turn again and rejoice together. Whatever the king commands I shall do, even were I to march into the fire; whatever happens, and without fear or respect for any person, I mean to remain the same man to the end.

¹ That both Montigny and his brother, Count Horn, were Catholics, sufficiently appears from this extract from a private letter of Montigny, written from Spain early in 1567: "J'ai reçu un grand contentement de l'assurance que me donnez que nuls ne basteront de vous faire changer d'opinion, en chose qui touche le fait de la religion anchienne, qui est certes conforme à ce que j'en ay toujours fermement pensé et cru, ors que le diable est subtil et ses ministres."—Willems, *Mengelingen van Vaderlandschen inhoud*, No. 5, p. 333.

Durate,—and I have a head that is hard enough when I do undertake anything,—*nec animum despondeo*.”¹ Here, certainly, was significant foreshadowing of the general wrath to come, and it was therefore of less consequence that the portraits painted by him of Berghen, Horn, Montigny, and others were so rarely relieved by the more flattering tints which he occasionally mingled with the somber coloring of his other pictures. Especially with regard to Count Egmont his conduct was somewhat perplexing and, at first sight, almost inscrutable. That nobleman had been most violent in opposition to his course, had drawn a dagger upon him, had frequently covered him with personal abuse, and had crowned his offensive conduct by the invention of the memorable fool’s-eap livery. Yet the cardinal usually spoke of him with pity and gentle consideration, described him as really well disposed in the main, as misled by others, as a “friend of smoke,” who might easily be gained by flattery and bribery. When there was question of the count’s going to Madrid, the cardinal renewed his compliments, with additional expression of eagerness that they should be communicated to their object. Whence all this Christian meekness in the author of the ban against Orange and the eulogist of Alva? The true explanation of this endurance on the part of the cardinal lies in the estimate which he had formed of Egmont’s character. Granvelle had taken the man’s measure, and even he could not foresee the unparalleled cruelty and dullness which were eventually to characterize Philip’s conduct toward him. On the contrary, there was every reason why the cardinal should see in the count a per-

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 287, 288, 311, 312. Compare Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 301.

sonage whom brilliant services, illustrious rank, and powerful connections had marked for a prosperous future. It was even currently asserted that Philip was about to create him governor-general of the Netherlands, in order to detach him entirely from Orange, and to bind him more closely to the crown.¹ He was therefore a man to be forgiven. Nothing apparently but a suspicion of heresy could damage the prospects of the great noble, and Egmont was orthodox beyond all peradventure. He was even a bigot in the Catholic faith. He had privately told the Duchess of Parma that he had always been desirous of seeing the edicts thoroughly enforced, and he denounced as enemies all those persons who charged him with ever having been in favor of mitigating the system.² He was reported, to be sure, at about the time of Granvelle's departure from the Netherlands, to have said, "*post pocula*, that the quarrel was not with the cardinal, but with the king, who was administering the public affairs very badly, even in the matter of religion." Such a bravado, however, uttered by a gentleman in his cups, when flushed with a recent political triumph, could hardly outweigh, in the cautious calculations of Granvelle, distinct admissions in favor of persecution. Egmont in truth stood in fear of the Inquisition. The hero of Gravelines and St.-Quentin actually trembled before Peter Titelmann.³ Moreover, notwithstanding all that had passed, he had experienced

¹ ". . . le Roy, qui avoit, comme aucuns veullent dire, delibéré de l'honorer du gouvernement general du Pays-Bas pour l'obliger tant plus étroitement à son service et de distraire de l'amitié du P^{ce} d'Orange, duquel il se defioit ouvertement."—Pontus Payen MS.

² Papiers d'État, vii. 121; ix. 217.

³ "Et quod mihi maxime placet, Egmondanus multum timet Titelmannum."—Morillon to Granvelle, *Ibid.*, viii. 425.

a change in his sentiments in regard to the cardinal. He frequently expressed the opinion that, although his presence in the Netherlands was inadmissible, he should be glad to see him pope. He had expressed strong disapprobation of the buffooning masquerade by which he had been ridiculed at the Mansfeld christening-party. When at Madrid he not only spoke well of Granvelle himself, but would allow nothing disparaging concerning him to be uttered in his presence.¹ When, however, Egmont had fallen from favor and was already a prisoner, the cardinal diligently exerted himself to place under the king's eye what he considered the most damning evidence of the count's imaginary treason—a document with which the public prosecutor had not been made acquainted.

Thus it will be seen by this retrospect how difficult it is to seize all the shifting subtleties of this remarkable character. His sophisms, even when self-contradictory, are so adroit that they are often hard to parry. He made a great merit to himself for not having originated the new episcopates; but it should be remembered that he did his utmost to enforce the measure, which was “so holy a scheme that he would sacrifice for its success his fortune and his life.” He refused the archbishopric of Mechlin, but his motives for so doing were entirely sordid. His revenues were for the moment diminished, while his personal distinction was not, in his opinion, increased by the promotion. He refused to accept it because “it was no addition to his dignity, as he was already cardinal and Bishop of Arras,”² but

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 115–427; viii. 92–94; ix. 565.

² Groen v. Prinst., *Archives*, etc., i. 76: “Pour que il est plus honorable estre ung de quatre que ung de dix-sept, et n'avoir be-

in this statement he committed an important anachronism. He was *not* cardinal when he refused the see of Mechlin, having received the red hat upon February 26, 1561, and having already *accepted* the archbishopric in May of the preceding year.¹ He affirmed that "no man would more resolutely defend the liberty and privileges of the provinces than he would do," but he preferred being tyrannized by his prince to maintaining the joyful entrance. He complained of the insolence of the states in meddling with the supplies; he denounced the convocation of the representative bodies, by whose action alone what there was of "liberty and privilege" in the land could be guarded; he recommended the entire abolition of the common councils in the cities. He described himself as having always combated the opinion that "anything could be accomplished by terror, death, and violence," yet he recommended the mission of Alva, in whom "terror, death, and violence" were incarnate. He was indignant that he should be accused of having advised the introduction of the *Spanish* Inquisition, but his reason was that the term sounded disagreeably in northern ears, while the thing was most commendable. He manifested much anxiety that the public should be disabused of their fear of the Spanish Inquisition, but he was the indefatigable supporter of the Netherland Inquisition, which Philip declared with reason to be "the more pitiless institution" of the two. He was the author, not of the edicts, but of their reënactment, verbally and literally, in all the

soing de ce titre pour croistre de dignité *estant yà Cardinal avec l'Evesché d'Arras*, et quant au prouffit je feroiy apparoir qu'au revenu que je y ay receu perte notable," etc.

¹ Papiers d'État, vi. 96-98, 296, 297.

horrid extent to which they had been carried by Charles V., and had recommended the use of the emperor's name to sanctify the infernal scheme. He busied himself personally in the execution of these horrible laws, even when judge and hangman slackened. To the last he denounced all those "who should counsel his Majesty to permit a moderation of the edicts," and warned the king that if he should consent to the least mitigation of their provisions things would go worse in the provinces than in France.¹ He was diligent in establishing the reinforced episcopal Inquisition side by side with these edicts, and with the papal Inquisition already in full operation. He omitted no occasion of encouraging the industry of all these various branches in the business of persecution. When at last the loud cry from the oppressed inhabitants of Flanders was uttered in unanimous denunciation by the four estates of that province of the infamous Titelmann, the cardinal's voice, from the depths of his luxurious solitude, was heard, not in sympathy with the poor innocent wretches who were daily dragged from their humble homes to perish by sword and fire, but in pity for the inquisitor who was doing the work of hell. "I deeply regret," he wrote to Viglius, "that the states of Flanders *should be pouting* at Inquisitor Titelmann. Truly he has good zeal, although sometimes indiscreet and noisy; still he must be supported, lest they put a bridle upon him, by which his authority will be quite enervated."² The reader who is acquainted with the personality of Peter Titelmann can decide as to the real benignity of the joyous

¹ Papiers d'État, ix. 480. Compare Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 323.

² Papiers d'État, viii. 460, 461.

Epicurean who could thus commend and encourage such a monster of cruelty.

If popularity be a test of merit in a public man, it certainly could not be claimed by the cardinal. From the moment when Gresham declared him to be "hated of all men," down to the period of his departure, the odium resting upon him had been rapidly extending. He came to the country with two grave accusations resting upon his name. The Emperor Maximilian asserted that the cardinal had attempted to take his life by poison, and he persisted in the truth of the charge thus made by him till the day of his death.¹ Another accusation was more generally credited. He was the author of the memorable forgery by which the Landgrave Philip of Hesse had been entrapped into his long imprisonment.² His course in and toward the Nether-

¹ *Apologie d'Orange*, 26. The accusation is also alluded to in a pamphlet published at the time of the attempted assassination by Jaureguy of Orange. "Tu t'es bien osé adresser par commandement de ton maistre au feu Empereur Maximilien, lorsqu'il estoit encores Roy de Boheme, et tu l'as empoisonné; ce qu'il a declairé jusques à la fin de sa vie, mais ne l'osoit publier pour n'irriter ton maitre."—*Discours sur la blessure de Monseigneur le P^{ce} d'Orange*, imprimé en l'an 1582.

² The story is disputed. Hormayr, in the *Austrian Plutarch*, denounces it as a "childish fabrication," as a "false and miserable invention." On the other hand, the Prince of Orange, who, being at that period a favorite page of the emperor, was accustomed to hear and remember many state secrets, alludes most unequivocally to the charge in a letter written in 1574. "Se souvenant tousjours des mots ewig und einig qui fust faiet cydevant au contract de feu Landgrave de Hessen."—*Archives et Correspondance*, v. 63. It is true that the prince does not here distinctly accuse the cardinal (then Bishop of Arras) of the trick, but his name was inseparable from the anecdote, whether true or false. "Il est vrai," says De Thou (tom. i., liv. iv. 267), "qu'on attribua une conduite si lâche

lands has been sufficiently examined. Not a single charge has been made lightly, but only after careful sifting of evidence. Moreover, they are all sustained mainly from the criminal's own lips. Yet when the secrecy of the Spanish cabinet and the Machiavellian scheme of policy by which the age was characterized are considered, it is not strange that there should have been misunderstandings and contradictions with regard to the man's character till a full light had been thrown upon it by the disinterment of ancient documents. The word "Durate," which was the cardinal's device, may well be inscribed upon his mask, which has at last been torn aside, but which was formed of such durable materials that it has deceived the world for three centuries.

à l'Eveque d'Arras, homme fourbe et rusé, qui par l'alteration d'une seule lettre [he then explains the trick in a note] avoit eu le secret de tromper le Landgrave." Von Rommel relates the story in the same way (Philipp d. Grossmüth., i. 536-542). Cited by Groen v. Prinst., v. 65. Von Raumer (Ges. Eur., i. 548) speaks of the circumstance as a misunderstanding, and not a perfidy. Groen van Prinsterer, after handling the subject with his usual acuteness and learning, maintains the truth of the anecdote (Archives et Correspondance, v. 65, 66).

CHAPTER V

Return of the three seigniors to the state council—Policy of Orange—Corrupt character of the government—Efforts of the prince in favor of reform—Influence of Armenteros—Painful situation of Viglius—His anxiety to retire—Secret charges against him transmitted by the duchess to Philip—Ominous signs of the times—Attention of Philip to the details of persecution—Execution of Fabricius and tumult at Antwerp—Horrible cruelty toward the Protestants—Remonstrance of the magistracy of Bruges and of the four Flemish estates against Titelmann—Obduracy of Philip—Council of Trent—Quarrel for precedence between the French and Spanish envoys—Order for the publication of the Trent decrees in the Netherlands—Opposition to the measure—Reluctance of the duchess—Egmont accepts a mission to Spain—Violent debate in the council concerning his instructions—Remarkable speech of Orange—Apoplexy of Viglius—Temporary appointment of Hopper—Departure of Egmont—Disgraceful scene at Cambray—Character of the archbishop—Egmont in Spain—Flattery and bribery—Council of doctors—Vehement declarations of Philip—His instructions to Egmont at his departure—Proceedings of Orange in regard to his principality—Egmont's report to the state council concerning his mission—His vainglory—Renewed orders from Philip to continue the persecution—Indignation of Egmont—Habitual dissimulation of the king—Reproof of Egmont by Orange—Assembly of doctors in Brussels—Result of their deliberations transmitted to Philip—Universal excitement in the Netherlands—New punishment for heretics—Interview at Bayonne between Catherine de' Medici and her daughter, the Queen of Spain—Mistaken views upon this subject—Diplomacy of Alva—Artful conduct of Catherine—Stringent letters from Philip to the duchess with regard to the Inquisition—Consternation of Mar-

garet and of Viglius—New proclamation of the edicts, the Inquisition, and the Council of Trent—Fury of the people—Resistance of the leading seigniors and of the Brabant council—Brabant declared free of the Inquisition—Prince Alexander of Parma betrothed to Donna Maria of Portugal—Her portrait—Expensive preparations for the nuptials—Assembly of the Golden Fleece—Oration of Viglius—Wedding of Prince Alexander.

THE remainder of the year in the spring of which the cardinal had left the Netherlands was one of anarchy, confusion, and corruption. At first there had been a sensation of relief. Philip had exchanged letters of exceeding amity with Orange, Egmont, and Horn. These three seigniors had written, immediately upon Granvelle's retreat, to assure the king of their willingness to obey the royal commands and to resume their duties at the state council.¹ They had, however, assured the duchess that the reappearance of the cardinal in the country would be the signal for their instantaneous withdrawal.² They appeared at the council daily, working with the utmost assiduity often till late into the night. Orange had three great objects in view,³ by attaining which the country, in his opinion, might yet be saved, and the threatened convulsions averted. These were to convoke the States-General, to moderate or abolish the edicts, and to suppress the council of finance and the privy council, leaving only the council of state. The two first of these points, if gained, would, of course, subvert the whole absolute policy which Philip and Granvelle had enforced; it was therefore hardly probable that any impression would be made upon the secret

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 71, 72.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 294–297.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 222, 223.

determination of the government in these respects. As to the council of state, the limited powers of that body, under the administration of the cardinal, had formed one of the principal complaints against that minister. The justice and finance councils were sinks of iniquity. The most barefaced depravity reigned supreme. A gangrene had spread through the whole government. The public functionaries were notoriously and outrageously venal. The administration of justice had been poisoned at the fountain, and the people were unable to slake their daily thirst at the polluted stream. There was no law but the law of the longest purse. The highest dignitaries of Philip's appointment had become the most mercenary hucksters who ever converted the divine temple of justice into a den of thieves. Law was an article of merchandise, sold by judges to the highest bidder. A poor customer could obtain nothing but stripes and imprisonment, or, if tainted with suspicion of heresy, the fagot or the sword, but for the rich everything was attainable. Pardons for the most atrocious crimes, passports, safe-conducts, offices of trust and honor, were disposed of at auction to the highest bidder.¹ Against all this sea of corruption did the brave William of Orange set his breast, undaunted and unflinching. Of all the conspicuous men in the land, he was the only one whose worst enemy had never hinted, through the whole course of his public career, that his hands had known contamination. His honor was ever untarnished by even a breath of suspicion. The cardinal could accuse him of pecuniary embarrassment, by which a large proportion of his revenues were necessarily diverted to

¹ Hoofd, ii. 48, 49. Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 40. Vit. Viglii, 38, 39.

the liquidation of his debts, but he could not suggest that the prince had ever freed himself from difficulties by plunging his hands into the public treasury, when it might easily have been opened to him.

It was soon, however, sufficiently obvious that as desperate a struggle was to be made with the many-headed monster of general corruption as with the cardinal by whom it had been so long fed and governed. The prince was accused of ambition and intrigue. It was said that he was determined to concentrate all the powers of government in the state council, which was thus to become an omnipotent and irresponsible senate, while the king would be reduced to the condition of a Venetian doge.¹ It was, of course, suggested that it was the aim of Orange to govern the new tribunal of ten. No doubt the prince was ambitious. Birth, wealth, genius, and virtue could not have been bestowed in such eminent degree on any man without carrying with them the determination to assert their value. It was not his wish so much as it was the necessary law of his being to impress himself upon his age and to rule his fellow-men. But he practised no arts to arrive at the supremacy which he felt must always belong to him, whatever might be his nominal position in the political hierarchy. He was already, although but just turned of thirty years, vastly changed from the brilliant and careless grandee as he stood at the hour of the imperial abdication. He was becoming care-worn in face, thin of figure, sleepless of habit. The wrongs of which he was the daily witness, the absolutism, the

¹ "Comme par un coup d'essay pensa d'abolir le conseil privé . . . pour abolir la puissance du Roy et le rendre semblable à un ducq de Venise," etc.—Pontus Payen MS.

cruelty, the rottenness of the government, had marked his face with premature furrows. "They say that the prince is very sad," wrote Morillon to Granvelle, "and 't is easy to read as much in his face. They say *he cannot sleep*."¹ Truly might the monarch have taken warning that here was a man who was dangerous and who thought too much. "Sleek-headed men, and such as slept o' nights," would have been more eligible functionaries, no doubt, in the royal estimation, but for a brief period the king was content to use, to watch, and to suspect the man who was one day to be his great and invincible antagonist. He continued assiduous at the council, and he did his best, by entertaining nobles and citizens at his hospitable mansion, to cultivate good relations with large numbers of his countrymen. He soon, however, had become disgusted with the court. Egmont was more lenient to the foul practices which prevailed there, and took almost a childish pleasure in dining at the table of the duchess, dressed, as were many of the younger nobles, in short camlet doublet with the wheat-sheaf buttons.

The prince felt more unwilling to compromise his personal dignity by countenancing the flagitious proceedings and the contemptible supremacy of Armenteros, and it was soon very obvious, therefore, that Egmont was a greater favorite at court than Orange. At the same time the count was also diligently cultivating the good graces of the middle and lower classes in Brussels, shooting with the burghers at the popinjay, calling every man by his name, and assisting at jovial banquets in town house or gildhall. The prince, although at times a necessary partaker also in these popular amuse-

¹ Papiers d'État, vii. 434.

ments, could find small cause for rejoicing in the aspect of affairs. When his business led him to the palace, he was sometimes forced to wait in the antechamber for an hour, while Secretary Armenteros was engaged in private consultation with Margaret upon the most important matters of administration. It could not be otherwise than galling to the pride and offensive to the patriotism of the prince to find great public transactions intrusted to such hands. Thomas de Armenteros was a mere private secretary—a simple clerk. He had no right to have cognizance of important affairs, which could only come before his Majesty's sworn advisers. He was, moreover, an infamous peculator. He was rolling up a fortune with great rapidity by his shameless traffic in benefices, charges, offices, whether of church or state. His name of Armenteros was popularly converted into Argenteros,² in order to symbolize the man who was made of public money. His confidential intimacy with the duchess procured for him also the name of "madam's barber,"³ in allusion to the famous ornaments of Margaret's upper lip, and to the celebrated influence enjoyed by the barbers of the Duke of Savoy and of Louis XI. This man sold dignities and places of high responsibility at public auction.⁴ The regent not only connived at these proceedings, which would have been base enough, but she was full partner in the disgraceful commerce. Through the agency of the secretary, she, too, was amassing a large private fortune.⁵ "The duchess has

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vii. 593.

² *Ibid.*, viii. 650; ix. 339.

³ *Ibid.*, viii. 650.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. 635-678. Groen v. Prinst., *Archives et Correspondance*, i. 405, 406.

⁵ "Mesmes aucuns, pour la rendre odieuse au peuple semoyent

gone into the business of vending places to the highest bidders," said Morillon, "with the bit between her teeth."¹ The spectacle presented at the council-board was often sufficiently repulsive not only to the cardinals, who were treated with elaborate insolence, but to all men who loved honor and justice, or who felt an interest in the prosperity of government. There was nothing majestic in the appearance of the duchess as she sat conversing apart with Armenteros, whispering, pinching, giggling, or disputing, while important affairs of state were debated, concerning which the secretary had no right to be informed.² It was inevitable that Orange should be offended to the utmost by such proceedings, although he was himself treated with comparative respect. As for the ancient adherents of Granvelle, the Bordeys, Baves, and Morillons, they were forbidden by the favorite even to salute him in the streets. Berlaymont was treated by the duchess with studied insult. "What is the man talking about?" she would ask with languid superciliousness, if he attempted to express his opinion in the state council.³ Viglius, whom Berlaymont accused of doing his best, without

un bruit qu'elle amassoit un grand thresor de derniers du Roy, oultre une infinité d'or et d'argent qu'elle tiroit subtilement des offices, benefices, et remissions qu'elle faisoit vendre sous main en beaux deniers comptant par le dit Armenteros."—Pontus Payen MS.

The correspondence of the time proves that the story was no calumny, but an indisputable fact.

¹ "Son Alteze y vat bride avallée."—Papiers d'État, vii. 635.

² "L'aulture jour, Van der Aa me dict avec larmes qu'il ne seavoit plus comporter les termes que l'on y tint : parlant à l'oreille, riant, piequant, débatant et donnant souvent des lourdes attaches, et quand *Hostilio* y est aussi present pour escouter."—Ibid., viii. 57, 58.

³ Ibid., ix. 238.

success, to make his peace with the seigniors, was in even still greater disgrace than his fellow-cardinalists. He longed, he said, to be in Burgundy, drinking Granvelle's good wine.¹ His patience under the daily insults which he received from the government made him despicable in the eyes of his own party. He was described by his friends as pusillanimous to an incredible extent, timid from excess of riches, afraid of his own shadow.² He was becoming exceedingly pathetic, expressing frequently a desire to depart and end his days in peace. His faithful Hopper sustained and consoled him, but even Joachim could not soothe his sorrows when he reflected that, after all the work performed by himself and colleagues, "they had only been beating the bush for others,"³ while their own share in the spoils had been withheld. Nothing could well be more contumelious than Margaret's treatment of the learned Frisian. When other councilors were summoned to a session at three o'clock, the president was invited at four. It was quite impossible for him to have an audience of the duchess except in the presence of the inevitable Armenteros. He was not allowed to open his mouth, even when he occasionally plucked up heart enough to attempt the utterance of his opinions. His authority was completely dead. Even if he essayed to combat the convocation of the States-General by the arguments which the duchess, at his suggestion, had often used for the purpose, he was treated with the same indifference. "The poor president," wrote Granvelle to the king's

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 223.

² Papiers d'État, viii. 267, 311.

³ "Qu'on aurat battu le buisson pour la noblesse."—Ibid., viii. 57, 58.

chief secretary, Gonzalo Perez, "is afraid, as I hear, to speak a word, and is made to write exactly what they tell him." At the same time the poor president, thus maltreated and mortified, had the vanity occasionally to imagine himself a bold and formidable personage. The man whom his most intimate friends described as afraid of his own shadow described himself to Granvelle as one who went his own gait, speaking his mind frankly upon every opportunity, and compelling people to fear him a little, even if they did not love him. But the cardinal knew better than to believe in this magnanimous picture of the doctor's fancy.¹

Viglius was anxious to retire, but unwilling to have the appearance of being disgraced. He felt instinctively, although deceived as to the actual facts, that his great patron had been defeated and banished. He did not wish to be placed in the same position. He was desirous, as he piously expressed himself, of withdrawing from the world, "that he might balance his accounts with the Lord before leaving the lodgings of life." He was, however, disposed to please "the master" as well as the Lord. He wished to have the royal permission to depart in peace. In his own lofty language, he wished to be sprinkled, on taking his leave, "with the holy water of the court." Moreover, he was fond of his salary, although he disliked the sarcasms of the duchess. Egmont and others had advised him to abandon the office of president to Hopper, in order, as he was getting feeble, to reserve his whole strength for the state council. Viglius did not at all relish the proposition. He said that by giving up the seals, and with them the

¹ *Papiers d'État*, viii. 77-91, 190, 266, 372, 377, 409, 410, 425, 426, 619.

rank and salary which they conferred, he should become a deposed saint. He had no inclination, as long as he remained on the ground at all, to part with those emoluments and honors, and to be converted merely into the "ass of the state council."¹ He had, however, with the sagacity of an old navigator, already thrown out his anchor into the best holding-ground during the storms which he foresaw were soon to sweep the state. Before the close of the year which now occupies us, the learned doctor of laws had become a doctor of divinity also, and had already secured, by so doing, the wealthy prebend of St. Bavon of Ghent.² This would be a consolation in the loss of secular dignities, and a recompense for the cold looks of the duchess. He did not scruple to ascribe the pointed dislike which Margaret manifested toward him to the awe in which she stood of his stern integrity of character. The true reason why Armenteros and the duchess disliked him was because, in his own words, "he was not of their mind with regard to lotteries, the sale of offices, advancement to abbeys, and many other things of the kind, by which they were in such a hurry to make their fortune." Upon another occasion he observed, in a letter to Granvelle, that "all offices were sold to the highest bidder, and that the cause of Margaret's resentment against both the cardinal and himself was that they had so long prevented her from making the profit which she was now doing from the sale of benefices, offices, and other favors."³

The duchess, on her part, characterized the proceed-

¹ "Et de me laisser contenter d'estre l'asne du conseil-d'état." —Papiers d'État, viii. 192.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., ii. 318–320.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 265, 405, 406.

ings and policy, both past and present, of the cardinalists as factious, corrupt, and selfish in the last degree. She assured her brother that the simony, rapine, and dishonesty of Granvelle, Viglius, and all their followers had brought affairs into the ruinous condition which was then but too apparent. They were doing their best, she said, since the cardinal's departure, to show, by their sloth and opposition, that they were determined to allow nothing to prosper in his absence. To quote her own vigorous expression to Philip—"Viglius made her suffer the pains of hell."¹ She described him as perpetually resisting the course of the administration, and she threw out dark suspicions not only as to his honesty but his orthodoxy. Philip lent a greedy ear to these scandalous hints concerning the late omnipotent minister and his friends. It is an instructive lesson in human history to look through the cloud of dissimulation in which the actors of this remarkable epoch were ever enveloped, and to watch them all stabbing fiercely at each other in the dark, with no regard to previous friendship or even present professions. It is edifying to see the cardinal, with all his genius and all his grimace, corresponding on familiar terms with Armenteros, who was holding him up to obloquy upon all occasions; to see Philip inclining his ear in pleased astonishment to Margaret's disclosures concerning the cardinal, whom he was at the very instant assuring of his undiminished confidence;² and to see Viglius, the author of the edict of 1550, and the uniform opponent of any mitigation in its horrors, silently becoming involved, without the least

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 314.

² Papiers d'État, vii. 593; viii. 91-94. Corresp. de Philippe II., i. 309-317.

suspicion of the fact, in the meshes of Inquisitor Titelmann. Upon Philip's eager solicitations for further disclosures, Margaret accordingly informed her brother of additional facts communicated to her, after oaths of secrecy had been exchanged, by Titelmann and his colleague Del Canto. They had assured her, she said, that there were grave doubts touching the orthodoxy of Viglius. He had consorted with heretics during a large portion of his life, and had put many suspicious persons into office. As to his nepotism, simony, and fraud, there was no doubt at all. He had richly provided all his friends and relations in Friesland with benefices. He had become in his old age a priest and churchman in order to snatch the provostship of St. Bavon, although his infirmities did not allow him to say mass, or even to stand erect at the altar. The inquisitors had further accused him of having stolen rings, jewels, plate, linen, beds, tapestry, and other furniture from the establishment, all which property he had sent to Friesland, and of having seized one hundred thousand florins in ready money which had belonged to the last abbé—an act consequently of pure embezzlement. The duchess afterward transmitted to Philip an inventory of the plundered property, including the furniture of nine houses, and begged him to command Viglius to make instant restitution.¹ If there be truth in the homely proverb that in case of certain quarrels honest men recover their rights, it is perhaps equally certain that when distinguished public personages attack each other historians may arrive at the truth. Here certainly are edifying pictures of the corruption of the Spanish regency in the Netherlands, painted by the president of

¹ *Papiers d'État*, i. 314–320, 350, 351.

the state council, and of the dishonesty of the president, painted by the regent.

A remarkable tumult occurred in October of this year at Antwerp. A Carmelite monk, Christopher Smith, commonly called Fabricius, had left a monastery in Bruges, adopted the principles of the Reformation, and taken to himself a wife. He had resided for a time in England; but, invited by his friends, he had afterward undertaken the dangerous charge of gospel teacher in the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands. He was, however, soon betrayed to the authorities by a certain bonnet-dealer, popularly called Long Margaret, who had pretended, for the sake of securing the informer's fee, to be a convert to his doctrines. He was seized and immediately put to the torture. He manfully refused to betray any members of his congregation, as manfully avowed and maintained his religious creed. He was condemned to the flames, and during the interval which preceded his execution he comforted his friends by letters of advice, religious consolation, and encouragement, which he wrote from his dungeon. He sent a message to the woman who had betrayed him, assuring her of his forgiveness, and exhorting her to repentance. His calmness, wisdom, and gentleness excited the admiration of all. When, therefore, this humble imitator of Christ was led through the streets of Antwerp to the stake, the popular emotion was at once visible. To the multitude who thronged about the executioners with threatening aspect, he addressed an urgent remonstrance that they would not compromise their own safety by a tumult in his cause. He invited all, however, to remain steadfast to the great truth for which he was about to lay down his life. The crowd, as they followed the procession of

hangmen, halberdmen, and magistrates, sang the Hundred and Thirtieth Psalm in full chorus. As the victim arrived upon the market-place, he knelt upon the ground to pray for the last time. He was, however, rudely forced to rise by the executioner, who immediately chained him to the stake and fastened a leathern strap around his throat. At this moment the popular indignation became uncontrollable; stones were showered upon the magistrates and soldiers, who, after a slight resistance, fled for their lives. The foremost of the insurgents dashed into the inclosed arena to rescue the prisoner. It was too late. The executioner, even as he fled, had crushed the victim's head with a sledge-hammer and pierced him through and through with a poniard. Some of the bystanders maintained afterward that his fingers and lips were seen to move, as if in feeble prayer, for a little time longer, until, as the fire mounted, he fell into the flames. For the remainder of the day, after the fire had entirely smoldered to ashes, the charred and half-consumed body of the victim remained on the market-place, a ghastly spectacle to friend and foe. It was afterward bound to a stone and cast into the Schelde. Such was the doom of Christopher Fabricius for having preached Christianity in Antwerp. During the night an anonymous placard, written with blood, was posted upon the wall of the town house, stating that there were men in the city who would signally avenge his murder. Nothing was done, however, toward the accomplishment of the threat. The king, when he received the intelligence of the transaction, was furious with indignation, and wrote savage letters to his sister, commanding instant vengeance to be taken upon all concerned in so foul a riot. As one of the persons en-

gaged had, however, been arrested and immediately hanged, and as the rest had effected their escape, the affair was suffered to drop.¹

The scenes of outrage, the frantic persecutions, were fast becoming too horrible to be looked upon by Catholic or Calvinist. The prisons swarmed with victims, the streets were thronged with processions to the stake. The population of thriving cities, particularly in Flanders, was maddened by the spectacle of so much barbarity inflicted, not upon criminals, but usually upon men remarkable for propriety of conduct and blameless lives. It was precisely at this epoch that the burgo-masters, senators, and council of the city of Bruges (all Catholics) humbly represented to the duchess regent that Peter Titelmann, inquisitor of the faith, against all forms of law, was daily exercising inquisition among the inhabitants, not only against those suspected or accused of heresy, but against all, however untainted their characters; that he was daily citing before him whatever persons he liked, men or women, compelling them by force to say whatever it pleased him; that he was dragging people from their houses, and even from the sacred precincts of the church—often in revenge for verbal injuries to himself, always under pretext of heresy, and without form or legal warrant of any kind. They therefore begged that he might be compelled to make use of preparatory examinations with the coöperation of the senators of the city, to suffer that witnesses should make their depositions without being intimidated by menace, and to conduct all his subsequent proceedings according to legal forms, which he had uniformly violated, publicly

¹ Strada, iv. 143, 144. *Hist. des Martyrs*, apud Brandt, i. 262-264. Compare *Papiers d'État*, viii. 440-443.

declaring that he would conduct himself according to his own pleasure.¹

The four estates of Flanders having, in a solemn address to the king, represented the same facts, concluded their brief but vigorous description of Titelmann's enormities by calling upon Philip to suppress these horrible practices, so manifestly in violation of the ancient charters which he had sworn to support.² It may be supposed that the appeal to Philip would be more likely to call down a royal benediction than the reproof solicited upon the inquisitor's head. In the privy council the petitions and remonstrances were read, and, in the words of the president, "found to be in extremely bad taste."³ In the debate which followed, Viglius and his friends recalled to the duchess, in earnest language, the decided will of the king, which had been so often expressed. A faint representation was made, on the other hand, of the dangerous consequences in case the people were driven to a still deeper despair. The result of the movement was but meager. The duchess announced that she could do nothing in the matter of the request until further information, but that meantime she had charged Titelmann to conduct himself in his office "with discretion and modesty."⁴ The discretion and modesty, however, never appeared in any modification of the inquisitor's proceedings, and he continued unchecked in his infamous career until death, which did not occur till several years afterward. In truth, Margaret was her-

¹ Brandt, i. 278, 279. *Papiers d'État*, viii. 434-438. *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 329-331.

² Brandt, *ubi sup.*

³ *Papiers d'État*, viii. 434.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 439: "De se conduyre en l'exercice de son office avec toute discretion, modestie et respect."

self in mortal fear of this horrible personage. He besieged her chamber door almost daily, before she had risen, insisting upon audiences, which, notwithstanding her repugnance to the man, she did not dare to refuse. "May I perish," said Morillon, "if she does not stand in exceeding awe of Titelmann.¹ Under such circumstances, sustained by the King of Spain, the duchess in Brussels, the privy council, and by a leading member of what had been thought the liberal party, it was not difficult for the Inquisition to maintain its ground, notwithstanding the solemn protestations of the estates and the suppressed curses of the people.

Philip, so far from having the least disposition to yield in the matter of the great religious persecution, was more determined as to his course than ever. He had already, as early as August of this year, despatched orders to the duchess that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be published and enforced throughout the Netherlands.² The memorable quarrel as to precedence between the French and Spanish delegates had given some hopes of a different determination. Nevertheless, those persons who imagined that, in consequence of this quarrel of etiquette, Philip would slacken in his allegiance to the Church, were destined to be bitterly mistaken. He informed his sister that, in the common cause of Christianity, he should not be swayed by personal resentments.³ How, indeed, could a different decision be expected? His envoy at Rome, as well as his represen-

¹ "Dispeream," writes Morillon to Granvelle, "*si ipsa non timeat Titelmannum et del Campo qui indies etiam illa invita, antefores cubiculi ejus versantur,*" etc.—*Papiers d'État*, viii. 425, 426.

² Strada, iv. 147. Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 51 sqq.

³ Strada, *ubi sup.*

tatives at the council, had universally repudiated all doubts as to the sanctity of its decrees. "To doubt the *infallibility* of the council, as some have dared to do," said Francis de Vargas, "and to think it capable of error, is the most devilish heresy of all. Nothing could so much disturb and scandalize the world as such a sentiment. Therefore the Archbishop of Granada told, very properly, the Bishop of Tortosa that if he should express such an opinion in Spain they would burn him."¹ These strenuous notions were shared by the king. Therefore, although all Europe was on tiptoe with expectation to see how Philip would avenge himself for the slight put upon his ambassador, Philip disappointed all Europe.

In August, 1564, he wrote to the duchess regent that the decrees were to be proclaimed and enforced without delay. They related to three subjects—the doctrines to be inculcated by the Church, the reformation of ecclesiastical morals, and the education of the people. General police regulations were issued at the same time, by which heretics were to be excluded from all share in the usual conveniences of society, and were in fact to be strictly excommunicated. Inns were to receive no guests, schools no children, almshouses no paupers, graveyards no dead bodies, unless guests, children, paupers, and dead bodies were furnished with the most satisfactory proofs of orthodoxy. Midwives of unsuspected Romanism were alone to exercise their functions, and were bound to give notice within twenty-four hours of every birth which occurred; the parish clerks were as regularly to record every such addition to the population, and the authorities to see that Catholic baptism was administered in each case with the least possible delay. Births, deaths,

¹ *Papiers d'État*, vi. 518.

and marriages could only occur with validity under the shadow of the Church. No human being could consider himself born or defunct unless provided with a priest's certificate. The heretic was excluded, so far as ecclesiastical dogma could exclude him, from the pale of humanity, from consecrated earth, and from eternal salvation.

The decrees contained many provisions which not only conflicted with the privileges of the provinces, but with the prerogatives of the sovereign. For this reason many of the lords in council thought that at least the proper exceptions should be made upon their promulgation. This was also the opinion of the duchess; but the king, by his letters of October and November (1564), expressly prohibited any alteration in the ordinances, and transmitted a copy of the form according to which the canons had been published in Spain, together with the expression of his desire that a similar course should be followed in the Netherlands.¹ Margaret of Parma was in great embarrassment. It was evident that the publication could no longer be deferred. Philip had issued his commands, but grave senators and learned doctors of the university had advised strongly in favor of the necessary exceptions. The extreme party, headed by Viglius, were in favor of carrying out the royal decisions. They were overruled, and the duchess was induced to attempt a modification if her brother's permission could be obtained. The president expressed the opinion that the decrees, even with the restrictions proposed, would "give no contentment to the people, who, moreover, had no right to meddle with theology."²

¹ Strada, iv. 148.

² Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 321.

The excellent Viglius forgot, however, that theology had been meddling altogether too much with the people to make it possible that the public attention should be entirely averted from the subject. Men and women who might be daily summoned to rack, stake, and scaffold, in the course of these ecclesiastical arrangements, and whose births, deaths, marriages, and position in the next world were now to be formally decided upon, could hardly be taxed with extreme indiscretion if they did meddle with the subject.

In the dilemma to which the duchess was reduced, she again bethought herself of a special mission to Spain. At the end of the year (1564) it was determined that Egmont should be the envoy. Montigny excused himself on account of private affairs; Marquis Berghen, "because of his indisposition and corpulence."¹ There was a stormy debate in council after Egmont had accepted the mission and immediately before his departure. Viglius had been ordered to prepare the count's instructions. Having finished the rough draft, he laid it before the board.² The paper was conceived in general terms, and might mean anything or nothing. No criticism upon its language was, however, offered until it came to the turn of Orange to vote upon the document. Then, however, William the Silent opened his lips, and poured forth a long and vehement discourse, such as he rarely pronounced, but such as few except himself could utter. There was no shuffling, no disguise, no timidity in his language. He took the ground boldly that the time had arrived for speaking out. The object of sending an envoy of high rank and European reputation like the Count of Egmont was to tell the king

¹ *Papiers d'État*, viii. 615.

² *Vit. Viglii*, 41.

the truth. Let Philip know it now. Let him be unequivocally informed that this whole machinery of placards and scaffolds, of new bishops and old hangmen, of decrees, inquisitors, and informers, must once and forever be abolished. Their day was over. The Netherlands were free provinces, they were surrounded by free countries, they were determined to vindicate their ancient privileges. Moreover, his Majesty was to be plainly informed of the frightful corruption which made the whole judicial and administrative system loathsome. The venality which notoriously existed everywhere—on the bench, in the council-chamber, in all public offices, where purity was most essential—was denounced by the prince in scathing terms. He tore the mask from individual faces, and openly charged the chancellor of Brabant, Engelbert Maas, with knavery and corruption. He insisted that the king should be informed of the necessity of abolishing the two inferior councils, and of enlarging the council of state by the admission of ten or twelve new members selected for their patriotism, purity, and capacity. Above all, it was necessary plainly to inform his Majesty that the canons of Trent, spurned by the whole world, even by the Catholic princes of Germany, could never be enforced in the Netherlands, and that it would be ruinous to make the attempt. He proposed and insisted that the Count of Egmont should be instructed accordingly. He avowed in conclusion that he was a Catholic himself and intended to remain in the faith, but that he could not look on with pleasure when princes strove to govern the souls of men and to take away their liberty in matters of conscience and religion.¹

¹ Vit. Viglii, 41, 42.

Here certainly was no daintiness of phraseology, and upon these leading points, thus slightly indicated, William of Orange poured out his eloquence, bearing conviction upon the tide of his rapid invective. His speech lasted till seven in the evening, when the duchess adjourned the meeting. The council broke up, the regent went to supper, but the effect of the discourse upon nearly all the members was not to be mistaken. Viglius was in a state of consternation, perplexity, and despair. He felt satisfied that, with perhaps the exception of Berlaymont, all who had listened or should afterward listen to the powerful arguments of Orange would be inevitably seduced or bewildered. The president lay awake, tossing and tumbling in his bed, recalling the prince's oration point by point, and endeavoring to answer it in order. It was important, he felt, to obliterate the impression produced. Moreover, as we have often seen, the learned doctor valued himself upon his logic. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, that in his reply, next day, his eloquence should outshine that of his antagonist. The president thus passed a feverish and uncomfortable night, pronouncing and listening to imaginary harangues. With the dawn of day he arose and proceeded to dress himself. The excitement of the previous evening and the subsequent sleeplessness of his night had, however, been too much for his feeble and slightly superannuated frame. Before he had finished his toilet a stroke of apoplexy stretched him senseless upon the floor. His servants, when they soon afterward entered the apartment, found him rigid and to all appearance dead.¹ After a few days, however, he recovered his physical senses in part, but his reason remained for

¹ Vit. Viglii, 42.

a longer time shattered, and was never perhaps fully restored to its original vigor.

This event made it necessary that his place in the council should be supplied. Viglius had frequently expressed intentions of retiring, a measure to which he could yet never fully make up his mind. His place was now temporarily supplied by his friend and countryman, Joachim Hopper, like himself a Frisian doctor of ancient blood and extensive acquirements, well versed in philosophy and jurisprudence, a professor of Louvain and a member of the Mechlin council. He was likewise the original founder and projector of Douai University, an institution which at Philip's desire he had successfully organized in 1556, in order that a French university might be furnished for Walloon youths, as a substitute for the seductive and poisonous Paris. For the rest, Hopper was a mere man of routine. He was often employed in private affairs by Philip, without being intrusted with the secret at the bottom of them. His mind was a confused one, and his style inexpressibly involved and tedious. "Poor Master Hopper," said Granvelle, "did not write the best French in the world; may the Lord forgive him. He was learned in letters, but knew very little of great affairs." His manners were as cringing as his intellect was narrow. He never opposed the duchess, so that his colleagues always called him Councilor "Yes, Madam," and he did his best to be friends with all the world.¹

In deference to the arguments of Orange, the instructions for Egmont were accordingly considerably modified from the original draft of Viglius. As drawn up by

¹ Vit. Viglii, 42. Levensb. Nederl. Man. en Vrouwen, iv. 105-111. Groen v. Prinst., Archives, v. 373. Dom l'Evesque, i. 91.

the new president, they contained at least a few hints to his Majesty as to the propriety of mitigating the edicts and extending some mercy to his suffering people.¹ The document was, however, not very satisfactory to the prince, nor did he perhaps rely very implicitly upon the character of the envoy.

Egmont set forth upon his journey early in January (1565). He traveled in great state. He was escorted as far as Cambray by several nobles of his acquaintance, who improved the occasion by a series of tremendous banquets during the count's sojourn, which was protracted till the end of January. The most noted of these gentlemen were Hoogstraaten, Brederode, the younger Mansfeld, Culemburg, and Noircarmes. Before they parted with the envoy they drew up a paper which they signed with their blood, and afterward placed in the hands of his countess. In this document they promised, on account of their "inexpressible and very singular affection" for Egmont, that if, during his mission to Spain, any evil should befall him, they would, on their faith as gentlemen and cavaliers of honor, take vengeance therefor upon the Cardinal Granvelle, or upon all who should be the instigators thereof.²

Wherever Brederode was, there, it was probable, would be much severe carousing. Before the conclusion, accordingly, of the visit to Cambray, that ancient city rang with the scandal created by a most uproarious

¹ Vit. Viglii, 42.

² Groen v. P., Archives, etc., i. 345, from Arnoldi, Hist. Denkwürd., p. 282. It is remarkable that, after the return of the count from Spain, Hoogstraaten received this singular bond from the countess, and gave it to Mansfeld, to be burned in his presence. Mansfeld, however, advised keeping it, on account of Noircarmes,

scene. A banquet was given to Egmont and his friends in the citadel. Brederode, his cousin Lumey, and the other nobles from Brussels were all present. The Archbishop of Cambray, a man very odious to the liberal party in the provinces, was also bidden to the feast. During the dinner, this prelate, although treated with marked respect by Egmont, was the object of much banter and coarse pleasantry by the ruder portion of the guests. Especially these convivial gentlemen took infinite pains to overload him with challenges to huge bumpers of wine, it being thought very desirable, if possible, to place the archbishop under the table. This pleasantry was alternated with much rude sarcasm concerning the new bishoprics. The conversation then fell upon other topics, among others naturally upon the mission of Count Egmont. Brederode observed that it was a very hazardous matter to allow so eminent a personage to leave the land at such a critical period. Should anything happen to the count, the Netherlands would sustain an immense loss. The archbishop, irritated by the previous conversation, ironically requested the speaker to be comforted, "because," said he, "it will always be easy to find a new Egmont." Upon this, Brederode, beside himself with rage, cried out vehemently, "Are we to tolerate such language from this priest?" Culemburg, too, turning upon the offender, ob-

whose signature was attached to the document, and whom he knew to be so false and deceitful a man that it might be well to have it within their power at some future day to reproach him therewith. (Ibid.) It will be seen in the sequel that Noircarmes more than justified the opinion of Mansfeld, but that the subsequent career of Mansfeld himself did not entitle him to reproach any of Philip's noble hangmen.

served: "Your observation would be much more applicable to your own case. If you were to die, 't would be easy to find five hundred of your merit to replace you in the see of Cambray." The conversation was, to say the least, becoming personal. The bishop, desirous of terminating this keen encounter of wits, lifted a goblet full of wine and challenged Brederode to drink. That gentleman declined the invitation. After the cloth had been removed, the cup circulated more freely than ever. The revelry became fast and furious. One of the younger gentlemen who was seated near the bishop snatched the bonnet of that dignitary from his head and placed it upon his own. He then drained a bumper to his health, and passed the goblet and the cap to his next neighbor. Both circulated till they reached the Viscount of Ghent, who arose from his seat and respectfully restored the cap to its owner. Brederode then took a large "cup of silver and gold," filled it to the brim, and drained it to the confusion of Cardinal Granvelle, stigmatizing that departed minister, as he finished, by an epithet of more vigor than decency. He then called upon all the company to pledge him to the same toast, and denounced as cardinalists all those who should refuse. The archbishop, not having digested the affronts which had been put upon him already, imprudently ventured himself once more into the confusion, and tried to appeal to the reason of the company. He might as well have addressed the crew of Comus. He gained nothing but additional insult. Brederode advanced upon him with threatening gestures. Egmont implored the prelate to retire, or at least not to take notice of a nobleman so obviously beyond the control of his reason. The bishop, however, insisted—mingling reproof, menace, and somewhat im-

perious demands—that the indecent Saturnalia should cease. It would have been wiser for him to retire. Count Hoogstraaten, a young man and small of stature, seized the gilt laver in which the company had dipped their fingers before seating themselves at table. “Be quiet, be quiet, little man,” said Egmont, soothingly, doing his best to restrain the tumult. “Little man, indeed!” responded the count, wrathfully. “I would have you to know that never did little man spring from my race.” With those words he hurled the basin, water and all, at the head of the archbishop. Hoogstraaten had no doubt manifested his bravery before that day; he was to display on future occasions a very remarkable degree of heroism; but it must be confessed that the chivalry of the noble house of Lalain was not illustrated by this attack upon a priest. The bishop was sprinkled by the water, but not struck by the vessel. Young Mansfeld, ashamed of the outrage, stepped forward to apologize for the conduct of his companions and to soothe the insulted prelate. That personage, however, exasperated, very naturally, to the highest point, pushed him rudely away, crying, “Begone, begone! Who is this boy that is preaching to me?” Whereupon Mansfeld, much irritated, lifted his hand toward the ecclesiastic and snapped his fingers contemptuously in his face. Some even said that he pulled the archiepiscopal nose, others that he threatened his life with a drawn dagger. Nothing could well have been more indecent or more cowardly than the conduct of these nobles upon this occasion. Their intoxication, together with the character of the victim, explained, but certainly could not palliate, the vulgarity of the exhibition. It was natural enough that men like Brederode should find sport in this remark-

able badgering of a bishop, but we see with regret the part played by Hoogstraaten in the disgraceful scene.

The prelate, at last, exclaiming that it appeared that he had been invited only to be insulted, left the apartment, accompanied by Noircarmes and the Viscount of Ghent, and threatening that all his friends and relations should be charged with his vengeance. The next day a reconciliation was effected, as well as such an arrangement was possible, by the efforts of Egmont, who dined alone with the prelate. In the evening, Hoogstraaten, Culemburg, and Brederode called upon the bishop, with whom they were closeted for an hour, and the party separated on nominal terms of friendship.¹

This scandalous scene, which had been enacted not only before many guests, but in presence of a host of servants, made necessarily a great sensation throughout the country. There could hardly be much difference of opinion among respectable people as to the conduct of the noblemen who had thus disgraced themselves. Even Brederode himself, who appeared to have retained, as was natural, but a confused impression of the transaction, seemed, in the days which succeeded the celebrated banquet, to be in doubt whether he and his friends had merited any great amount of applause. He was, however, somewhat self-contradictory, although always vehement in his assertions on the subject. At one time he maintained—after dinner, of course—that he would have killed the archbishop if they had not been forcibly separated; at other moments he denounced as liars all persons who should insinuate that he had committed or contemplated any injury to that prelate, offering freely

¹ Pontus Payen MS. *Papiers d'État*, viii. 681–688; ix. 16, 17. Van der Haer, 279–283.

to fight any man who disputed either of his two positions.¹

The whole scene was dramatized and represented in masquerade at a wedding-festival given by Councilor d'Assonleville on the marriage of Councilor Hopper's daughter, one of the principal parts being enacted by a son of the president-judge of Artois.² It may be supposed that if such eminent personages, in close connection with the government, took part in such proceedings, the riot must have been considered of a very pardonable nature. The truth was that the bishop was a cardinalist, and therefore entirely out of favor with the administration. He was also a man of treacherous, sanguinary character, and consequently detested by the people. He had done his best to destroy heresy in Valenciennes by fire and sword. "I will say one thing," said he in a letter to Granvelle, which had been intercepted: "since the pot is uncovered and the whole cookery known, we had best push forward and make an end of all the principal heretics, whether rich or poor, *without regarding whether the city will be entirely ruined* by such a course. Such an opinion I should declare openly were it not that we of the ecclesiastical profession are accused of always crying out for blood."³ Such was the prelate's theory. His practice may be inferred from a specimen of his proceedings which occurred at a little later day. A citizen of Cambray, having been converted to the Lutheran confession, went to the archbishop and requested permis-

¹ Papiers d'État, ix. 16, 17.

² Ibid., ix. 17. Pierre Arset, president of Artois, was afterward a member of that infamous tribunal called the Council of Troubles, and popularly "of Blood."

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 180, 181.

sion to move out of the country, taking his property with him. The petitioner, having made his appearance in the forenoon, was requested to call again after dinner to receive his answer. The burgher did so, and was received, not by the prelate, but by the executioner, who immediately carried the Lutheran to the market-place and cut off his head.¹ It is sufficiently evident that a minister of Christ with such propensities could not excite any great sympathy, however deeply affronted he might have been at a drinking-party, so long as any Christians remained in the land.

Egmont departed from Cambray upon the 30th January, his friends taking a most affectionate farewell of him, and Brederode assuring him, with a thousand oaths, that he would forsake God for his service.² His reception at Madrid was most brilliant. When he made his first appearance at the palace, Philip rushed from his cabinet into the grand hall of reception, and fell upon his neck, embracing him heartily before the count had time to drop upon his knee and kiss the royal hand.³ During the whole period of his visit he dined frequently at the king's private table, an honor rarely accorded by Philip, and was feasted and flattered by all the great dignitaries of the court as never a subject of the Spanish crown had been before. All vied with each other in heaping honors upon the man whom the king was determined to honor.⁴ Philip took him out to drive daily in his own coach, sent him to see the wonders of the new Escorial, which he was building to commemorate the battle of St.-Quentin, and,

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 458, 459. Letter from William of Orange to Landgrave William of Hesse.

² Papiers d'État, ix. 16, 17.

³ Pontus Payen MS.

⁴ Ibid.

although it was still winter, insisted upon showing him the beauties of his retreat in the Segovian forest.¹ Granvelle's counsels as to the method by which the "friend of smoke" was so easily to be gained had not fallen unheeded in his royal pupil's ears. The count was lodged in the house of Ruy Gomez, who soon felt himself able, according to previous assurances to that effect contained in a private letter of Armenteros, to persuade the envoy to any course which Philip might command.² Flattery without stint was administered. More solid arguments to convince the count that Philip was the most generous and clement of princes were also employed with great effect. The royal dues upon the estate of Gaasbecque, lately purchased by Egmont, were remitted.³ A mortgage upon his seigniorship of Ninove⁴ was discharged, and a considerable sum of money presented to him in addition. Altogether, the gifts which the ambassador received from the royal bounty amounted to one hundred thousand crowns.⁵ Thus feasted, flattered, and laden with presents, it must be admitted that the count more than justified the opinions expressed in the letter of Armenteros that he was a man easily governed by those who had credit with him. Egmont hardly broached the public matters which had brought him to Madrid. Upon the subject of the edicts Philip certainly did not dissemble, however loudly the envoy may have afterward complained at Brussels. In truth, Egmont, intoxicated by the incense offered to him at the Spanish court, was

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 349.

² Ibid., i. 343, 344.

³ Pontus Payen MS.

⁴ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 347, 348.

⁵ Papiers d'État, ix. 385.

a different man from Egmont in the Netherlands, subject to the calm but piercing glance and the irresistible control of Orange. Philip gave him no reason to suppose that he intended any change in the religious system of the provinces, at least in any sense contemplated by the liberal party. On the contrary, a council of doctors and ecclesiastics was summoned,¹ at whose deliberations the count was invited to assist, on which occasion the king excited general admiration by the fervor of his piety and the vehemence of his ejaculations. Falling upon his knees before a crucifix, in the midst of the assembly, he prayed that God would keep him perpetually in the same mind, and protested that he would never call himself master of those who denied the Lord God.² Such an exhibition could leave but little doubt in the minds of those who witnessed it as to the royal sentiments, nor did Egmont make any effort to obtain any relaxation of those religious edicts which he had himself declared worthy of approbation and fit to be maintained.³ As to the question of enlarging the state council, Philip dismissed the subject with a few vague observations, which Egmont, not very zealous on the subject at the moment, perhaps misunderstood. The punishment of heretics by some new method, so as to secure the pains but to take away the glories of martyrdom, was also slightly discussed, and here again Egmont was so unfortunate as to misconceive the royal meaning, and to interpret an additional refinement of cruelty into an expression of clemency. On the whole, however, there was not much negotiation between the monarch and the ambassador. When the count spoke of business, the king

¹ Strada, iv. 152.

² Papiers d'État, ix. 217.

³ Ibid.

would speak to him of his daughters, and of his desire to see them provided with brilliant marriages.¹ As Egmont had eight girls, besides two sons, it was natural that he should be pleased to find Philip taking so much interest in looking out husbands for them. The king spoke to him, as hardly could be avoided, of the famous fool's-cap livery. The count laughed the matter off as a jest, protesting that it was a mere foolish freak, originating at the wine-table, and asseverating with warmth that nothing disrespectful or disloyal to his Majesty had been contemplated upon that or upon any other occasion. Had a single gentleman uttered an undutiful word against the king, Egmont vowed he would have stabbed him through and through upon the spot, had he been his own brother.² These warm protestations were answered by a gentle reprimand as to the past by Philip, and with a firm caution as to the future. "Let it be discontinued entirely, count," said the king, as the two were driving together in the royal carriage.³ Egmont expressed himself in handsome terms concerning the cardinal,⁴ in return for the wholesale approbation quoted to him in regard to his own character from the private letters of that sagacious personage to his Majesty. Certainly, after all this, the count might suppose the affair of the livery forgiven. Thus amicably passed the hours of that mission, the preliminaries for which had called forth so much eloquence from the Prince of Orange and so nearly carried off with apoplexy the President Viglius. On his departure Egmont received a letter of instructions from

¹ Bentivoglio, ii. 24.

² Strada, iv. 153.

³ "Conde, no se haga mas."—Papiers d'État, ix. 277.

⁴ Ibid., ix. 565.

Philip as to the report which he was to make upon his arrival in Brussels to the duchess. After many things personally flattering to himself, the envoy was directed to represent the king as overwhelmed with incredible grief at hearing the progress made by the heretics, but as immutably determined to permit no change of religion within his dominions, even were he to die a thousand deaths in consequence. The king, he was to state, requested the duchess forthwith to assemble an extraordinary session of the council, at which certain bishops, theological doctors, and very orthodox lawyers were to assist, in which, under pretense of discussing the Council of Trent matter, it was to be considered whether there could not be some "new way devised for executing heretics; *not indeed one by which any deduction should be made from their sufferings* (which certainly was not the royal wish, nor likely to be grateful to God or salutary to religion), but by which all hopes of glory—that powerful incentive to their impiety—might be precluded."¹ With regard to any suggested alterations in the council of state or in the other two councils, the king was to be represented as unwilling to form any decision until he should hear at length from the duchess regent upon the subject.

Certainly here was a sufficient amount of plain speaking upon one great subject, and very little encouragement with regard to the other. Yet Egmont, who immediately after receiving these instructions set forth upon his return to the Netherlands, manifested nothing but satisfaction. Philip presented to him, as his traveling companion, the young Prince Alexander of Parma, then

¹ Strada, iv. 153 sqq. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 347. Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 46.

about to make a visit to his mother in Brussels, and recommended the youth, afterward destined to play so prominent a part in Flemish history, to his peculiar care.¹ Egmont addressed a letter to the king from Valladolid, in which he indulged in ecstasies concerning the Escorial and the wood of Segovia, and declared that he was returning to the Netherlands "the most contented man in the world."¹

He reached Brussels at the end of April. Upon the 5th of May he appeared before the council, and proceeded to give an account of his interview with the king, together with a statement of the royal intentions and opinions. These were already sufficiently well known. Letters written after the envoy's departure had arrived before him, in which, while in the main presenting the same views as those contained in the instructions to Egmont, Philip had expressed his decided prohibition of the project to enlarge the state council and to suppress the authority of the other two.³ Nevertheless, the count made his report according to the brief received at Madrid, and assured his hearers that the king was all benignity, having nothing so much at heart as the temporal and eternal welfare of the provinces. The siege of Malta, he stated, would prevent the royal visit to the Netherlands for the moment, but it was deferred only for a brief period. To remedy the deficiency in the provincial exchequer, large remittances would be made immediately from Spain. To provide for the increasing difficulties of the religious question, a convocation of nine learned and saintly personages was recommended, who should

¹ Strada, iv. 155.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 349.

³ Strada, iv. 154.

devise some new scheme by which the objections to the present system of chastising heretics might be obviated.¹

It is hardly necessary to state that so meager a result to the mission of Egmont was not likely to inspire the hearts of Orange and his adherents with much confidence. No immediate explosion of resentment, however, occurred. The general aspect for a few days was peaceful. Egmont manifested much contentment with the reception which he met with in Spain, and described the king's friendly dispositions toward the leading nobles in lively colors. He went to his government immediately after his return, assembled the states of Artois in the city of Arras, and delivered the letters sent to that body by the king. He made a speech on this occasion,² informing the estates that his Majesty had given orders that the edicts of the emperor were to be enforced to the letter; adding that he had told the king freely his own opinion upon the subject, in order to dissuade him from that which others were warmly urging. He described Philip as the most liberal and debonair of princes, his council in Spain as cruel and sanguinary. Time was to show whether the epithets thus applied to the advisers were not more applicable to the monarch than the eulogies thus lavished by the blind and predestined victim. It will also be perceived that this language used before the estates of Artois varied materially from his observation to the Dowager Duchess of Aerschot, denouncing as enemies the men who accused him of having requested a moderation of the edicts. In truth, this most vacillating, confused, and unfortunate of men perhaps scarcely comprehended the purport of his recent negotiations in

¹ Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 44-47. Hoofd, ii. 50-52.

² Pontus Payen MS.

Spain, nor perceived the drift of his daily remarks at home. He was, however, somewhat vainglorious immediately after his return, and excessively attentive to business. "He talks like a king," said Morillon, spitefully, "negotiates night and day, and makes all bow before him."¹ His house was more thronged with petitioners, courtiers, and men of affairs than even the palace of the duchess. He avowed frequently that he would devote his life and his fortune to the accomplishment of the king's commands, and declared his uncompromising hostility to all who should venture to oppose that loyal determination.

It was but a very short time, however, before a total change was distinctly perceptible in his demeanor. These halcyon days were soon fled. The arrival of fresh letters from Spain gave a most unequivocal evidence of the royal determination, if, indeed, any doubt could be rationally entertained before. The most stringent instructions to keep the whole machinery of persecution constantly at work were transmitted to the duchess, and aroused the indignation of Orange and his followers. They avowed that they could no longer trust the royal word, since, so soon after Egmont's departure, the king had written despatches so much at variance with his language as reported by the envoy. There was nothing, they said, clement and debonair in these injunctions upon gentlemen of their position and sentiments to devote their time to the encouragement of hangmen and inquisitors. The duchess was unable to pacify the nobles. Egmont was beside himself with rage. With his usual recklessness and wrath, he expressed himself at more than one session of the state council in most unmeasured

¹ *Papiers d'État*, ix. 316.

terms. His anger had been more inflamed by information which he had received from the second son of Berlaymont, a young and indiscreet lad, who had most unfortunately communicated many secrets which he had learned from his father, but which were never intended for Egmont's ear.¹

Philip's habitual dissimulation had thus produced much unnecessary perplexity. It was his custom to carry on correspondence through the aid of various secretaries, and it was his invariable practice to deceive them all. Those who were upon the most confidential terms with the monarch were most sure to be duped upon all important occasions. It has been seen that even the astute Granvelle could not escape this common lot of all who believed their breasts the depositories of the royal secrets. Upon this occasion Gonzalo Perez and Ruy Gomez complained bitterly that they had known nothing of the letters which had recently been despatched from Valladolid, while Tisnacq and Courteville had been ignorant of the communications forwarded by the hands of Egmont. They avowed that the king created infinite trouble by thus treating his affairs in one way with one set of councilors and in an opposite sense with the others, thus dissembling with all, and added that Philip was now much astonished at the dissatisfaction created in the provinces by the discrepancy between the French letters brought by Egmont and the Spanish letters since despatched to the duchess. As this was his regular manner of transacting business, not only for the Netherlands, but for all his dominions, they were of opinion that such confusion and dissatisfaction might well be expected.²

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 355, 356. ² Ibid., i. 358.

After all, however, notwithstanding the indignation of Egmont, it must be confessed that he had been an easy dupe. He had been dazzled by royal smiles, intoxicated by court incense, contaminated by yet baser bribes. He had been turned from the path of honor and the companionship of the wise and noble to do the work of those who were to compass his destruction. The Prince of Orange reproached him to his face with having forgotten, when in Spain, to represent the views of his associates and the best interests of the country, while he had well remembered his own private objects and accepted the lavish bounty of the king.¹ Egmont, stung to the heart by the reproof from one whom he honored and who wished him well, became sad and somber for a long time, abstained from the court and from society, and expressed frequently the intention of retiring to his estates.² He was, however, much governed by his secretary, the Seigneur de Bakkerzeel,³ a man of restless, intriguing, and deceitful character, who at this period exercised as great influence over the count as Armen-

¹ *Papiers d'État*, ix. 345: "Il y a esté parole picante du P^{ce} d'Orange contre le C^{te} d'Egmont comme s'il n'auroit rien oblié de son particulier; mais bien de ce qui concernoit des seigneurs, dont d'Egmont at esté aggravié et ne fust jeudi en court ny en la procession."—Letter of Morillon to Granvelle, of date 22d June, 1565.

"Le P^{ce} d'Orange ne se pouvoit abstenir . . . d'user des mots piequants contre le C^{te} d'Egmont qu'il n'avoit fait aultre chose en Espagne que remplir sa bourse, et que les 50,000 pistolets que luy avoit donné le Roy luy avoyent faict oublier les causses de son voyage et charges de sa legation."—Pontus Payen MS. Compare Bentivoglio, ii. 24, 25.

² *Papiers d'État*, ix. 386.

³ *Ibid.*, ix. 459, Letter of Bave to Granvelle. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 365, 366, Armenteros to G. Perez.

teros continued to maintain over the duchess, whose unpopularity from that and other circumstances was daily increasing.¹

In obedience to the commands of the king, the canons of Trent had been published. They were nominally enforced at Cambray, but a fierce opposition was made by the clergy themselves to the innovation in Mechlin, Utrecht, and many other places. This matter, together with other more vitally important questions, came before the assembly of bishops and doctors which, according to Philip's instructions, had been convoked by the duchess. The opinion of the learned theologians was, on the whole, that the views of the Trent Council with regard to reformation of ecclesiastical morals and popular education were sound. There was some discordancy between the clerical and lay doctors upon other points. The seigniors, lawyers, and deputies from the estates *were all in favor of repealing the penalty of death for heretical offenses* of any kind. President Viglius, with all the bishops and doctors of divinity, including the prelates of St.-Omer, Namur, and Ypres, and four theological professors from Louvain, *stoutly maintained the contrary opinion*.² The president especially declared himself vehemently in favor of the death punishment, and expressed much anger against those who were in favor of its abolition.³ The duchess, upon the second day of the assembly, propounded formally the question whether any change was to be made in the chastisement of heretics. The Prince of Orange, with Counts Horn and Egmont, had, however, declined to take part in the dis-

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, i. 425.

² Papiers d'État, ix. 408.

³ Ibid: "Y respondio con mucho animo contra un tal opinion."

cussions, on the ground that it was not his Majesty's intention that state councilors should deliver their opinions before strangers, but that persons from outside had been summoned to communicate their advice to the council.¹ The seigniors having thus washed their hands of the matter, the doctors came to a conclusion with great alacrity. It was their unanimous opinion that it comported neither with the service of God nor the commonweal to make any change in the punishment, except, perhaps, in the case of extreme youth, but that, on the contrary, heretics were only to be dealt with by retaining the edicts in their rigor and by courageously chastising the criminals.² After sitting for the greater part of six days, the bishops and doctors of divinity reduced their sentiments to writing, and affixed their signatures to the document. Upon the great point of the change suggested in the penalties of heresy, it was declared that no alteration was advisable in the edicts, which had been working so well for thirty-five years.³ At the same time it was suggested that "some persons, in respect to their age and quality, might be executed or punished more or less rigorously than others; some by death, some by galley-slavery, some by perpetual banishment and entire confiscation of property." The possibility was also admitted of mitigating the punishment of those who, *without being heretics or sectaries*, might bring themselves within the provisions of the edicts "through curiosity, nonchalance, or otherwise." Such offenders, it was hinted, might be "whipped with rods, fined, banished, or subjected to similar penalties of a lighter nature."⁴ It will be perceived by this slight

¹ Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 47.

² Ibid., 48.

³ Ibid., 48, 49.

⁴ Ibid.

sketch of the advice thus offered to the duchess that these theologians were disposed very carefully to strain the mercy which they imagined possible in some cases, but which was to drop only upon the heads of the just. Heretics were still to be dealt with, so far as the bishops and presidents could affect their doom, with unmitigated rigor.

When the assembly was over, the duchess, thus put in possession of the recorded wisdom of these special counsellors, asked her constitutional advisers what she was to do with it. Orange, Egmont, Horn, Mansfeld replied, however, that it was not their affair, and that their opinion had not been demanded by his Majesty in the premises.¹ The duchess accordingly transmitted to Philip the conclusions of the assembly, together with the reasons of the seigniors for refusing to take part in its deliberations. The sentiments of Orange could hardly be doubtful, however, nor his silence fail to give offense to the higher powers. He contented himself for the time with keeping his eyes and ears open to the course of events, but he watched well. He had "little leisure for amusing himself," as Brederode suggested. That free-spoken individual looked upon the proceedings of the theological assembly with profound disgust. "Your letter," he wrote to Count Louis, "is full of those blackguards of bishops and presidents. I would the race were extinct, like that of green dogs. They will always combat with the arms which they have ever used, remaining to the end avaricious, brutal, obstinate, ambitious, et cetera. I leave you to supply the rest."²

Thus, then, it was settled beyond peradventure that

¹ Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 48, 49.

² Groen v. Prinst., *Archives*, etc., i. 382.

there was to be no compromise with heresy. The king had willed it. The theologians had advised it. The duchess had proclaimed it. It was supposed that without the ax, the fire, and the rack the Catholic religion would be extinguished, and that the whole population of the Netherlands would embrace the Reformed faith. This was the distinct declaration of Viglius in a private letter to Granvelle. "Many seek to abolish the chastisement of heresy," said he; "if they gain this point, *actum est de religione Catholicâ*; for as most of the people are ignorant fools, the heretics will soon be the great majority, if by fear of punishment they are not kept in the true path."¹

The uneasiness, the terror, the wrath of the people seemed rapidly culminating to a crisis. Nothing was talked of but the edicts and the Inquisition. Nothing else entered into the minds of men. In the streets, in the shops, in the taverns, in the fields; at market, at church, at funerals, at weddings; in the noble's castle, at the farmer's fireside, in the mechanic's garret, upon the merchants' exchange, there was but one perpetual subject of shuddering conversation. It was better, men began to whisper to each other, to die at once than to live in perpetual slavery. It was better to fall with arms in hand than to be tortured and butchered by the Inquisition. Who could expect to contend with such a foe in the dark?

They reproached the municipal authorities with lending themselves as instruments to the institution. They asked magistrates and sheriffs how far they would go in their defense before God's tribunal for the slaughter of his creatures, if they could only answer the divine

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 370, 371.

arraignment by appealing to the edict of 1550.¹ On the other hand, the inquisitors were clamorous in abuse of the languor and the cowardice of the secular authorities. They wearied the ear of the duchess with complaints of the difficulties which they encountered in the execution of their functions—of the slight alacrity on the part of the various officials to assist them in the discharge of their duties. Notwithstanding the express command of his Majesty to that effect, they experienced, they said, a constant deficiency of that cheerful coöperation which they had the right to claim, and there was perpetual discord in consequence. They had been empowered by papal and by royal decree to make use of the jails, the constables, the whole penal machinery of each province; yet the officers often refused to act, and had even dared to close the prisons. Nevertheless, it had been intended, as fully appeared by the imperial and royal instructions to the inquisitors, that their action through the medium of the provincial authorities should be unrestrained. Not satisfied with these representations to the regent, the inquisitors had also made a direct appeal to the king. Judocus Tiletanus and Michael de Bay addressed to Philip a letter from Louvain. They represented to him that they were the only two left of the five inquisitors-general appointed by the pope for all the Netherlands, the other three having *been recently converted into bishops*. Daily complaints, they said, were reaching them of the prodigious advance of heresy, but their own office was becoming so odious, so calumniated, and exposed to so much resistance that they could not perform its duties without personal danger. They urgently demanded from his Majesty, therefore, additional support and

¹ Hoofd, ii. 65.

assistance.¹ Thus the duchess, exposed at once to the rising wrath of a whole people and to the shrill blasts of inquisitorial anger, was tossed to and fro, as upon a stormy sea. The commands of the king, too explicit to be tampered with, were obeyed. The theological assembly had met and given advice. The Council of Trent was here and there enforced. The edicts were republished and the inquisitors encouraged. Moreover, in accordance with Philip's suggestion, orders were now given that the heretics should be executed at midnight in their dungeons, by binding their heads between their knees, and then slowly suffocating them in tubs of water.² Secret drowning was substituted for public burning, in order that the heretic's crown of vainglory, which was thought to console him in his agony, might never be placed upon his head.

In the course of the summer, Margaret wrote to her brother that the popular frenzy was becoming more and more intense. The people were crying aloud, she said, that the Spanish Inquisition, or a worse than Spanish Inquisition, had been established among them by means of bishops and ecclesiastics.³ She urged Philip to cause the instructions for the inquisitors to be revised. Egmont, she said, was vehement in expressing his dissatisfaction at the discrepancy between Philip's language to him by word of mouth and that of the royal despatches on the religious question. The other seigniors were even more indignant.

While the popular commotion in the Netherlands was

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 353.

² Meteren, ii. 30^d. Brandt, Reformatie, i. v. 278. Compare De Thou, v. xl. 206; Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 56, 57.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 360-364.

thus fearfully increasing, another circumstance came to add to the prevailing discontent. The celebrated interview between Catherine de' Medici and her daughter, the Queen of Spain, occurred in the middle of the month of June, at Bayonne. The darkest suspicions as to the results to humanity of the plots to be engendered in this famous conference between the representatives of France and Spain were universally entertained. These suspicions were most reasonable, but they were nevertheless mistaken. The plan for a concerted action to exterminate the heretics in both kingdoms had, as it was perfectly well known, been formed long before this epoch. It was also no secret that the Queen Regent of France had been desirous of meeting her son-in-law in order to confer with him upon important matters face to face. Philip, however, had latterly been disinclined for the personal interview with Catherine.¹ As his wife was most anxious to meet her mother, it was nevertheless finally arranged that Queen Isabella should make the journey; but he excused himself, on account of the multiplicity of his affairs, from accompanying her in the expedition. The Duke of Alba was, accordingly, appointed to attend the queen to Bayonne. Both were secretly instructed by Philip to leave nothing undone in the approaching interview toward obtaining the hearty coöperation of Catherine de' Medici in a general and formally arranged scheme for the simultaneous extermination of all heretics in the French and Spanish dominions. Alba's conduct in this diplomatic commission was stealthy in the extreme. His letters² reveal a subtlety of contrivance and delicacy of handling such as the world has not gener-

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 380, 381.

² These remarkable letters are published in the *Papiers d'État*

ally reckoned among his characteristics. All his adroitness, as well as the tact of Queen Isabella, by whose ability Alva declared himself to have been astounded, proved quite powerless before the steady fencing of the wily Catherine. The queen regent, whose skill the duke, even while defeated, acknowledged to his master, continued firm in her design to maintain her own power by holding the balance between Guise and Montmorency, between Leagner and Huguenot. So long as her enemies could be employed in exterminating each other, she was willing to defer the extermination of the Huguenots. The great massacre of St. Bartholomew was to sleep for seven years longer. Alva was, to be sure, much encouraged at first by the language of the French princes and nobles who were present at Bayonne. Montluc protested that "they might saw the queen dowager in two before she would become Huguenot."¹ Montpensier exclaimed that "he would be cut in pieces for Philip's service—that the Spanish monarch was the only hope for France," and, embracing Alva with fervor, he affirmed that "if his body were to be opened at that moment, the name of Philip would be found imprinted upon his heart."² The duke, having no power to proceed to an autopsy, physical or moral, of Montpensier's interior, was left somewhat in the dark, notwithstanding these ejaculations. His first conversation with the youthful king, however, soon dispelled his hopes. He found immediately, in his own

du Card. Granvelle, ix. 281-330, and reveal the whole truth concerning the famous conference of Bayonne.

¹ "Se dexaria asserrar que hazerse ugonota."—Papiers d'État, ubi sup.

² "Que por V. M. se dexaria hacer pedazos . . . y que si le abriasen el coraçon le hallarian escripto el nombre de V. M."—Ibid.

words, that Charles IX. "had been doctored."¹ To take up arms for religious reasons against his own subjects the monarch declared to be ruinous and improper. It was obvious to Alva that the royal pupil had learned his lesson for that occasion. It was a pity for humanity that the wisdom thus hypocritically taught him could not have sunk into his heart. The duke did his best to bring forward the plans and wishes of his royal master, but without success. The queen regent proposed a league of the two kings and the emperor against the Turk, and wished to arrange various matrimonial alliances between the sons and daughters of the three houses. Alva expressed the opinion that the alliances were already close enough, while, on the contrary, a secret league against the Protestants would make all three families the safer. Catherine, however, was not to be turned from her position. She refused even to admit that the Chancellor de L'Hôpital was a Huguenot, to which the duke replied that she was the only person in her kingdom who held that opinion. She expressed an intention of convoking an assembly of doctors, and Alva ridiculed in his letters to Philip the affectation of such a proceeding. In short, she made it sufficiently evident that the hour for the united action of the French and Spanish sovereigns against their subjects had not struck, so that the famous Bayonne conference was terminated without a result. It seemed not the less certain, however, in the general opinion of mankind, that all the particulars of a regular plot had been definitely arranged upon this occasion for the extermination of the Protestants, and the error has been propagated by historians

¹ "Como es, descubri lo que le tenian predicado."—Papiers d'État, ubi sup.

of great celebrity of all parties down to our own days. The secret letters of Alva, however, leave no doubt as to the facts.

In the course of November, fresh letters from Philip arrived in the Netherlands, confirming everything which he had previously written. He wrote personally to the inquisitors-general, Tiletanus and De Bay, encouraging them, commending them, promising them his support, and urging them not to be deterred by any consideration from thoroughly fulfilling their duties. He wrote Peter Titelmann a letter in which he applauded the pains taken by that functionary to remedy the ills which religion was suffering, assured him of his gratitude, exhorted him to continue in his virtuous course, and avowed his determination to spare neither pains, expense, nor even his own life to sustain the Catholic faith. To the duchess he wrote at great length and in most unequivocal language. He denied that what he had written from Valladolid was of different meaning from the sense of the despatches by Egmont. With regard to certain Anabaptist prisoners, concerning whose fate Margaret had requested his opinion, he commanded their execution, adding that such was his will in the case of all, whatever their quality, who could be caught. That which the people said in the Netherlands touching the Inquisition, he pronounced extremely distasteful to him. That institution, which had existed under his predecessors, he declared more necessary than ever; nor would he suffer it to be discredited. He desired his sister to put no faith in idle talk as to the inconveniences likely to flow from the rigor of the Inquisition. Much greater inconveniences would be the result if the inquisitors did not proceed with their labors, and the duchess was commanded

to write to the secular judges, enjoining upon them to place no obstacles in the path, but to afford all the assistance which might be required.¹

To Egmont the king wrote with his own hand, applauding much that was contained in the recent decisions of the assembly of bishops and doctors of divinity, and commanding the count to assist in the execution of the royal determination. In affairs of religion, Philip expressed the opinion that dissimulation and weakness were entirely out of place.²

When these decisive letters came before the state council, the consternation was extreme. The duchess had counted, in spite of her inmost convictions, upon less peremptory instructions. The Prince of Orange, the Count of Egmont, and the admiral were loud in their denunciations of the royal policy. There was a violent and protracted debate. The excitement spread at once to the people. Inflammatory handbills were circulated. Placards were posted every night upon the doors of Orange, Egmont, and Horn, calling upon them to come forth boldly as champions of the people and of liberty in religious matters.³ Banquets were held daily at the houses of the nobility, in which the more ardent and youthful of their order, with brains excited by wine and anger, indulged in flaming invectives against the government, and interchanged vows to protect each other and the cause of the oppressed provinces. Meanwhile the privy council, to which body the duchess had referred the recent despatches from Madrid, made a report upon the whole subject to the state council, during the month

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 369-373.

² Ibid., i. 375.

³ Hoofd, ii. 66.

of November, sustaining the royal views, and insisting upon the necessity of carrying them into effect. The edicts and Inquisition having been so vigorously insisted upon by the king, nothing was to be done but to issue new proclamations throughout the country, together with orders to bishops, councils, governors, and judges that every care should be taken to enforce them to the full.¹

This report came before the state council, and was sustained by some of its members. The Prince of Orange expressed the same uncompromising hostility to the Inquisition which he had always manifested, but observed that the commands of the king were so precise and absolute as to leave no possibility of discussing that point. There was nothing to be done, he said, but to obey, but he washed his hands of the fatal consequences which he foresaw.² There was no longer any middle course between obedience and rebellion. This opinion, the soundness of which could scarcely be disputed, was also sustained by Egmont and Horn.

Viglius, on the contrary, nervous, agitated, appalled, was now disposed to temporize. He observed that if the seigniors feared such evil results it would be better to prevent, rather than to accelerate, the danger which would follow the proposed notification to the governors and municipal authorities throughout the country on the subject of the Inquisition. To make haste was neither to fulfil the intentions nor to serve the interests of the king, and it was desirable "to avoid emotion and scandal." Upon these heads the president made a very long speech, avowing, in conclusion, that if his Majesty should not find the course proposed agreeable, he was ready to receive all the indignation upon his own head.³

¹ Hopper, 58, 59.

² *Ibid.*, 59.

³ *Ibid.*, 59, 60.

Certainly this position of the president was somewhat inconsistent with his previous course. He had been most violent in his denunciations of all who should interfere with the execution of the great edict of which he had been the original draftsman. He had recently been ferocious in combating the opinion of those civilians in the assembly of doctors who had advocated the abolition of the death-penalty against heresy. He had expressed with great energy his private opinion that the ancient religion would perish if the machinery of persecution were taken away; yet he now for the first time seemed to hear or to heed the outcry of a whole nation, and to tremble at the sound. Now that the die had been cast, in accordance with the counsels of his whole life,—now that the royal commands, often enigmatical and hesitating, were at last too distinct to be misconstrued and too peremptory to be tampered with,—the president imagined the possibility of delay. The health of the ancient Frisian had but recently permitted him to resume his seat at the council-board. His presence there was but temporary, for he had received from Madrid the acceptance of his resignation, accompanied with orders to discharge the duties of president¹ until the arrival of his successor, Charles de Tisnacq. Thus, in his own language, the duchess was still obliged to rely for a season “upon her ancient Palinurus,”² a necessity far from agreeable to her, for she had lost confidence in the pilot. It may be supposed that he was anxious to smooth the troubled waters during the brief period in which he was still to be exposed to their fury; but he poured out the oil of his eloquence in vain. Nobody

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 442. Vit. Viglii, 45.

² Vit. Viglii, 45.

sustained his propositions. The duchess, although terrified at the probable consequences, felt the impossibility of disobeying the deliberate decree of her brother. A proclamation was accordingly prepared, by which it was ordered that the Council of Trent, the edicts, and the Inquisition should be published in every town and village in the provinces immediately, and once in six months forever afterward.¹ The deed was done, and the Prince of Orange, stooping to the ear of his next neighbor as they sat at the council-board, whispered that they were now about to witness the commencement of the most extraordinary tragedy which had ever been enacted.² The prophecy was indeed a proof that the prince could read the future, but the sarcasm of the president, that the remark had been made in a tone of exultation,³ was belied by every action of the prophet's life.

The fiat went forth. In the market-place of every town and village of the Netherlands, the Inquisition was again formally proclaimed. Every doubt which had hitherto existed as to the intention of the government was swept away. No argument was thenceforward to be permissible as to the constitutionality of the edicts—as to the compatibility of their provisions with the privileges of the land. The cry of a people in its agony ascended to Heaven. The decree was answered with a howl of execration. The flames of popular frenzy⁴ arose

¹ Bor, i. 32, 33. Meteren, ii. 37.

² "Visuros nos brevi egregiæ tragœdiæ initium."—Vit. Viglii, 45.

³ "Quasi lætus, gloriabundusque."—Ibid.

⁴ "Depuis icelles publiées par lettres de S. A. aux evesques, consaulx et bonnes villes, c'est chose incroyable quelles flammes

lurid and threatening above the housetops of every town and village. The impending conflict could no longer be mistaken. The awful tragedy which the great watchman in the land had so long unceasingly predicted was seen sweeping solemnly and steadily onward. The superstitious eyes of the age saw supernatural and ominous indications in the sky. Contending armies trampled the clouds; blood dropped from heaven; the exterminating angel rode upon the wind.

There was almost a cessation of the ordinary business of mankind. Commerce was paralyzed. Antwerp shook as with an earthquake. A chasm seemed to open, in which her prosperity and her very existence were to be forever engulfed. The foreign merchants, manufacturers, and artisans fled from her gates as if the plague were raging within them. Thriving cities were likely soon to be depopulated. The metropolitan heart of the whole country was almost motionless.¹

Men high in authority sympathized with the general indignation. The Marquis Berghen, the younger Mansfeld, the Baron Montigny, openly refused to enforce the edicts within their governments. Men of eminence inveighed boldly and bitterly against the tyranny of the government, and counseled disobedience. The Netherlanders, it was stoutly maintained, were not such senseless brutes as to be ignorant of the mutual relation of prince and people. They knew that the obligation of a king to his vassals was as sacred as were the duties of the subjects to the sovereign.²

jecta le feu, d'auparavant caché souz les cendres," etc.—Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 62.

¹ Hoofd, ii. 68. Bor, i. 34, 35.

² Hopper, 62.

The four principal cities of Brabant first came forward in formal denunciation of the outrage. An elaborate and conclusive document was drawn up in their name and presented to the regent.¹ It set forth that the recent proclamation violated many articles in the "joyous entry." That ancient constitution had circumscribed the power of the clergy, and the jealousy had been felt in old times as much by the sovereign as the people. No ecclesiastical tribunal had therefore been allowed, excepting that of the Bishop of Cambray, whose jurisdiction was expressly confined to three classes of cases—those growing out of marriages, testaments, and mortuaries.

It would be superfluous to discuss the point at the present day whether the directions to the inquisitors and the publication of the edicts conflicted with the "joyous entrance." To take a man from his house and burn him, after a brief preliminary examination, was clearly not to follow the letter and spirit of the Brabantine habeas corpus, by which inviolability of domicile and regular trials were secured and sworn to by the monarch; yet such had been the uniform practice of inquisitors throughout the country. The petition of the four cities was referred by the regent to the council of Brabant. The chancellor or president-judge of that tribunal was notoriously corrupt—a creature of the Spanish government. His efforts to sustain the policy of the administration were, however, vain. The duchess ordered the archives of the province to be searched for precedents,

¹ Hopper, 63 sqq. Bor, i. 35. Meteren, ii. 37. Hoofd, ii. 68, 69. Supplément à l'Hist. des Guerres Civiles du Père F. Strada, par Foppens (Amst. 1729), vol. ii. 291, 292, Letter of Margaret of Parma.

and the council to report upon the petition.¹ The case was too plain for argument or dogmatism, but the attempt was made to take refuge in obscurity. The answer of the council was hesitating and equivocal.² The duchess insisted upon a distinct and categorical answer to the four cities. Thus pressed, the council of Brabant declared roundly that no inquisition of any kind had ever existed in the provinces.³ It was impossible that any other answer could be given, but Viglius, with his associates in the privy council, was extremely angry at the conclusion.⁴ The concession was, however, made, notwithstanding the bad example which, according to some persons, the victory thus obtained by so important a province would afford to the people in the other parts of the country. Brabant was declared free of the Inquisition.⁵ Meanwhile the pamphlets, handbills, pasquils, and other popular productions were multiplied. To use a Flemish expression, they "snowed in the streets." They were nailed nightly on all the great houses in Brussels.⁶ Patriots were called upon to strike, speak, redress. Pungent lampoons, impassioned invectives, and earnest remonstrances were thrust into the hands of the duchess. The publications, as they appeared, were greedily devoured by the people. "We are willing," it was said in a remarkable letter to the king, "to die for the gospel, but we read therein, 'Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto God that which is God's.' We thank God that our

¹ Strada, v. 168. Hoofd, ii. 69. Hopper, ubi sup.

² Bor, i. 39, 40. Hoofd, Hopper, ubi sup.

³ Hopper, 64. Bor, Hoofd, ubi sup.

⁴ Hopper, ubi sup.

⁵ Ibid., 65.

⁶ Bor, ii. 53. Hoofd, ii. 70, 71.

enemies themselves are compelled to bear witness to our piety and patience, so that it is a common saying, 'He swears not—he is a Protestant; he is neither a fornicator nor a drunkard—he is of the new sect.' Yet, notwithstanding these testimonials to our character, no manner of punishment has been forgotten by which we can possibly be chastised."¹ This statement of the morality of the Puritans of the Netherlands was the justification of martyrs, not the self-glorification of Pharisees. The fact was incontrovertible. Their tenets were rigid, but their lives were pure. They belonged generally to the middling and lower classes. They were industrious artisans, who desired to live in the fear of God and in honor of their king. They were protected by nobles and gentlemen of high position, very many of whom came afterward warmly to espouse the creed which at first they had only generously defended. Their whole character and position resembled, in many features, those of the English Puritans, who, three quarters of a century afterward, fled for refuge to the Dutch Republic, and thence departed to establish the American Republic. The difference was that the Netherlanders were exposed to a longer persecution and a far more intense martyrdom.

Toward the end of the year (1565) which was closing in such universal gloom, the contemporary chronicles are enlivened with a fitful gleam of sunshine. The light enlivens only the more elevated regions of the Flemish world, but it is pathetic to catch a glimpse of those nobles, many of whose lives were to be so heroic, and whose destinies so tragic, as amid the shadows projected by coming evil they still found time for the chivalrous

¹ Bor, i. 43-50.

festivals of their land and epoch. A splendid tournament was held at the Château d'Antoing to celebrate the nuptials of Baron Montigny with the daughter of Prince d'Espinoy. Orange, Horn, and Hoogstraaten were the challengers, and maintained themselves victoriously against all comers, Egmont and other distinguished knights being among the number.¹

Thus brilliantly and gaily moved the first hours of that marriage which before six months had fled was to be so darkly terminated. The doom which awaited the chivalrous bridegroom in the dungeon of Simancas was ere long to be recorded in one of the foulest chapters of Philip's tyranny.

A still more elaborate marriage-festival, of which the hero was, at a later day, to exercise a most decisive influence over the fortunes of the land, was celebrated at Brussels before the close of the year. It will be remembered that Alexander, Prince of Parma, had accompanied Egmont on his return from Spain in the month of April. The duchess had been delighted with the appearance of her son, then twenty years of age, but already an accomplished cavalier. She had expressed her especial pleasure in finding him so thoroughly a Spaniard "in manner, costume, and conversation" that it could not be supposed he had ever visited any other land or spoken any other tongue than that of Spain.²

The nobles of the Flemish court did not participate in the mother's enthusiasm. It could not be denied that he was a handsome and gallant young prince, but his arrogance was so intolerable as to disgust even those most disposed to pay homage to Margaret's son. He

¹ Archives et Correspondance, i. 421. Pasq. de la Barre MS.

² Correspondance de Phil. II., i. 354.

kept himself mainly in haughty retirement, dined habitually alone in his own apartments, and scarcely honored any of the gentlemen of the Netherlands with his notice.¹ Even Egmont, to whose care he had been especially recommended by Philip, was slighted. If occasionally he honored one or two of the seigniors with an invitation to his table, he sat alone in solemn state at the head of the board, while the guests, to whom he scarcely vouchsafed a syllable, were placed on stools without backs, below the salt.² Such insolence, it may be supposed, was sufficiently galling to men of the proud character, but somewhat reckless demeanor, which distinguished the Netherland aristocracy. After a short time they held themselves aloof, thinking it sufficient to endure such airs from Philip. The duchess at first encouraged the young prince in his haughtiness, but soon became sad as she witnessed its effects. It was the universal opinion that the young prince was a mere compound of pride and emptiness. "There is nothing at all in the man,"³ said Chantonnay. Certainly the expression was not a fortunate one. Time was to show that there was more in the man than in all the governors despatched successively by Philip to the Netherlands; but the proof was to be deferred to a later epoch. Meantime his mother was occupied and exceedingly perplexed with his approaching nuptials. He had been affianced early in the year to the Princess Donna Maria of Portugal. It was found necessary, therefore, to send

¹ *Papiers d'État*, ix. 224.

² *Ibid.* : "Au bas bout de la table sur scabeaux."

³ Groen v. Prinst., *Archives*, etc., i. 394: "Certes jusques à maintenant nihil est in homine je ne sçay que ce sera avec le temps."

a fleet of several vessels to Lisbon to fetch the bride to the Netherlands,¹ the wedding being appointed to take place in Brussels. This expense alone was considerable, and the preparations for banquets, justs, and other festivities were likewise undertaken on so magnificent a scale that the duke, her husband, was offended at Margaret's extravagance.² The people, by whom she was not beloved,³ commented bitterly on the prodigalities which they were witnessing in a period of dearth and trouble.⁴ Many of the nobles mocked at her perplexity. To crown the whole, the young prince was so obliging as to express the hope, in his mother's hearing, that the bridal fleet, then on its way from Portugal, might sink, with all it contained, to the bottom of the sea.⁵

The poor duchess was infinitely chagrined by all these circumstances. The "insane and outrageous expenses"⁶ in which the nuptials had involved her, the rebukes of her husband, the sneers of the seigniors, the undutiful epigrams of her son, the ridicule of the people, affected her spirits to such a degree, harassed as she was with grave matters of state, that she kept her rooms for days together, weeping, hour after hour, in the most piteous manner. Her distress was the town-talk;⁷

¹ *Papiers d'État*, ix. 218.

² *Ibid.*, ix. 385, 386, 601.

³ *Archives et Correspondance*, i. 425.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 601.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix. 386: "Le jeune homme science matre diet qu'il vouldroit que tout ce que vad et reviendra demeurast au fond de la mer."

⁶ "La folle et oultrageuse depense des nopces," etc.—*Papiers d'État*, ix. 601.

⁷ "Que l'on sçait à parler par toute la ville de ceste plorerie."—*Ibid.*

nevertheless, the fleet arrived in the autumn, and brought the youthful Maria to the provinces. This young lady, if the faithful historiographer of the Farnese house is to be credited, was the paragon of princesses.¹ She was the daughter of Prince Edward, and granddaughter of John III. She was young and beautiful; she could talk both Latin and Greek, besides being well versed in philosophy, mathematics, and theology.² She had the Scriptures at her tongue's end, both the old dispensation and the new, and could quote from the fathers with the promptness of a bishop. She was so strictly orthodox that, on being compelled by stress of weather to land in England, she declined all communication with Queen Elizabeth, on account of her heresy. She was so eminently chaste that she could neither read the sonnets of Petrarch, nor lean on the arm of a gentleman.³ Her delicacy upon such points was, indeed, carried to such excess that upon one occasion, when the ship which was bringing her to the Netherlands was discovered to be burning, she rebuked a rude fellow who came forward

¹ Strada, iv. 157-162.

² Ibid. : "Prædicabaturque una ingenio omnia comprehendere : Latina lingua expedite ac perbene loqui : Græcas litteras proxime callere : philosophiam non ignorare : Mathematicorum disciplinas apprime nosse : divina utriusque Testamenti oracula in promptu habere."

This princess, in her teens, might already exclaim, with the venerable Faustus :

"Habe nun Philosophie,
Juristerei und Medicin
Und leider ach ! Theologie
Durchstudirt mit heissem Bemühen," etc.

The panegyrists of royal houses in the sixteenth century were not accustomed to do their work by halves.

³ Ibid.

to save her life, assuring him that there was less contamination in the touch of fire than in that of man.¹ Fortunately, the flames were extinguished, and the phenix of Portugal was permitted to descend, unburned, upon the bleak shores of Flanders.

The occasion, notwithstanding the recent tears of the duchess and the arrogance of the prince, was the signal for much festivity among the courtiers of Brussels. It was also the epoch from which movements of a secret and important character were to be dated. The chevaliers of the Fleece were assembled, and Viglius pronounced before them one of his most classical orations. He had a good deal to say concerning the private adventures of St. Andrew, patron of the order, and went into some details of a conversation which that venerated personage had once held with the proconsul Ægeas.² The moral which he deduced from his narrative was the necessity of union among the magnates for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, the nobility and the Church being the two columns upon which the whole social fabric reposed.³ It is to be feared that the president became rather prosy upon the occasion. Perhaps his homily, like those of the factitious Archbishop of Granada, began to smack of the apoplexy from which he had so recently escaped. Perhaps, the meeting being one of hilarity, the younger nobles became restive under the infliction of a very long and very solemn harangue. At any rate, as the meeting broke up, there was a good

¹ " . . . Tu vero, inquit, manum actutum abstinere: quasi non minus ab hujus, quam à flammæ tactu timeret sibi," etc.—Strada, iv. 157-162.

² Vit. Viglii, 44.

³ Ibid.

deal of jesting on the subject. De Hammes, commonly called "Toison d'Or," counselor and king-at-arms of the order, said that the president had been seeing visions and talking with St. Andrew in a dream. Marquis Berghen asked for the source whence he had derived such intimate acquaintance with the ideas of the saint. The president took these remarks rather testily, and from trifling the company became soon earnestly engaged in a warm discussion of the agitating topics of the day. It soon became evident to Viglius that De Hammes and others of his comrades had been dealing with dangerous things. He began shrewdly to suspect that the popular heresy was rapidly extending into higher regions; but it was not the president alone who discovered how widely the contamination was spreading. The meeting, the accidental small talk, which had passed so swiftly from gaiety to gravity, the rapid exchange of ideas, and the freemasonry by which intelligence upon forbidden topics had been mutually conveyed, became events of historical importance. Interviews between nobles who, in the course of the festivities produced by the Montigny and Parma marriages, had discovered that they entertained a secret similarity of sentiment upon vital questions, became of frequent occurrence.¹ The result to which such conferences led will be narrated in the following chapter.

Meantime, upon the 11th November, 1565, the marriage of Prince Alexander and Donna Maria was celebrated with great solemnity by the Archbishop of Cambray, in the chapel of the court at Brussels. On the following Sunday the wedding-banquet was held in the great hall where, ten years previously, the memorable

¹ Bor, ii. 53. Hoofd, ii. 70, 71.

abdication of the bridegroom's imperial grandfather had taken place.

The walls were again hung with the magnificent tapestry of Gideon, while the Knights of the Fleece, with all the other grandes of the land, were assembled to grace the spectacle.¹ The king was represented by his envoy in England, Don Guzman da Silva, who came to Brussels for the occasion, and who had been selected for this duty because, according to Armenteros, "he was endowed, besides his prudence, with so much witty gracefulness with ladies in matters of pastime and entertainment."² Early in the month of December a famous tournament was held in the great market-place of Brussels, the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Aerschot, and Count Egmont being judges of the justs. Count Mansfeld was the challenger, assisted by his son Charles, celebrated among the gentry of the land for his dexterity in such sports. To Count Charles was awarded upon this occasion the silver cup from the lady of the lists. Count Bossu received the prize for breaking best his lances; the Seigneur de Beauvoir for the most splendid entrance; Count Louis of Nassau for having borne himself most gallantly in the *mêlée*. On the same evening the nobles, together with the bridal pair, were entertained at a splendid supper given by the city of Brussels in the magnificent Hôtel de Ville. On this occasion the prizes gained at the tournament were distributed, amid the applause and hilarity of all the revelers.³

¹ De la Barre MS., 57.

² "Tiene tambien gracia y donaire con las damas en las cosas de passatiempo y entretenimiento."—Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 365, 366.

³ De la Barre MS.

Thus, with banquet, tourney, and merry marriage-bells, with gaiety gilding the surface of society, while a deadly hatred to the Inquisition was eating into the heart of the nation, and while the fires of civil war were already kindling, of which no living man was destined to witness the extinction, ended the year 1565.

CHAPTER VI

Francis Junius—His sermon at Culemburg House—The Compromise—Portraits of Sainte-Aldegonde, of Louis of Nassau, of "Toison d'Or," of Charles Mansfeld—Sketch of the Compromise—Attitude of Orange—His letter to the duchess—Signers of the Compromise—Indiscretion of the confederates—Espionage over Philip by Orange—Dissatisfaction of the seigniors—Conduct of Egmont—Despair of the people—Emigration to England—Its effects—The Request—Meeting at Breda and Hoogstraaten—Exaggerated statements concerning the Request in the state council—Hesitation of the duchess—Assembly of notables—Debate concerning the Request and the Inquisition—Character of Brederode—Arrival of the petitioners in Brussels—Presentation of the Request—Emotion of Margaret—Speech of Brederode—Sketch of the Request—Memorable sarcasm of Berlaymont—Deliberation in the state council—Apostil to the Request—Answer to the apostil—Reply of the duchess—Speech of D'Esquerdes—Response of Margaret—Memorable banquet at Culemburg House—Name of the "beggars" adopted—Orange, Egmont, and Horn break up the riotous meeting—Costume of the "beggars"—Brederode at Antwerp—Horrible execution at Oudenarde—Similar cruelties throughout the provinces—Project of "Moderation"—Religious views of Orange—His resignation of all his offices not accepted—The "Moderation" characterized—Egmont at Arras—Debate on the "Moderation"—Vacillation of Egmont—Mission of Montigny and Berghen to Spain—Instructions to the envoys—Secret correspondence of Philip with the pope concerning the Netherland Inquisition and the edicts—Field-preaching in the provinces—Modet at Ghent—Other preachers characterized—Excitement at Tournay—Peter Gabriel at Haarlem—Field-preaching near Antwerp—Embarrassment of the regent—Excitement at Antwerp—

Pensionary Wesenbeek sent to Brussels—Orange at Antwerp—His patriotic course—Misrepresentation of the duchess—Intemperate zeal of Dr. Rythovius—Meeting at St.-Trond—Conference at Duffel—Louis of Nassau deputed to the regent—Unsatisfactory negotiations.

THE most remarkable occurrence in the earlier part of the year 1566 was the famous Compromise. This document, by which the signers pledged themselves to oppose the Inquisition and to defend each other against all consequences of such a resistance, was probably the work of Philip de Marnix, Lord of Sainte-Aldegonde. Much obscurity, however, rests upon the origin of this league. Its foundations had already been laid in the latter part of the preceding year. The nuptials of Parma with the Portuguese princess had been the cause of much festivity, not only in Brussels, but at Antwerp. The great commercial metropolis had celebrated the occasion by a magnificent banquet. There had been triumphal arches, wreaths of flowers, loyal speeches, generous sentiments, in the usual profusion. The chief ornament of the dinner-table had been a magnificent piece of confectionery, setting elaborately forth the mission of Count Mansfeld with the fleet to Portugal to fetch the bride from her home, with exquisitely finished figures in sugar—portraits, it is to be presumed—of the principal personages as they appeared during the most striking scenes of the history.¹ At the very moment, however, of these delectations, a meeting was held at Brussels of men whose minds were occupied with sterner stuff than sugar-work. On the wedding-day of Parma, Francis Junius, a dissenting minister then residing at Antwerp, was invited to Brussels to preach a sermon

¹ Meteren, ii. 36.

in the house of Count Culemburg, on the horse-market (now called Little Sablon), before a small assembly of some twenty gentlemen.¹

This Francis Junius, born of a noble family in Bourges, was the pastor of the secret French congregation of Huguenots at Antwerp. He was very young, having arrived from Geneva, where he had been educated, to take charge of the secret church when but just turned of twenty years.² He was, however, already celebrated for his learning, his eloquence, and his courage. Toward the end of 1565 it had already become known that Junius was in secret understanding with Louis of Nassau to prepare an address to government on the subject of the Inquisition and edicts. Orders were given for his arrest. A certain painter of Brussels affected conversion to the new religion, that he might gain admission to the congregation and afterward earn the reward of the informer. He played his part so well that he was permitted to attend many meetings, in the course of which he sketched the portrait of the preacher, and delivered it to the duchess regent, together with minute statements as to his residence and daily habits. Nevertheless, with all this assistance, the government could not succeed in laying hands on him. He escaped to Breda, and continued his labors in spite of persecution. The man's courage may be estimated from the fact that he preached on one occasion a sermon, advocating the doctrines of the Reformed Church with his usual eloquence, in a room overlooking the market-place, where, at the very instant, the execution by fire of several

¹ Brandt, i. 289 sqq. Ex vita F. Junii ab ipso conscripta, f. 15, apud Brandt. "

² Vit. Junii, 14, 15, 16.

heretics was taking place, while the light from the flames in which the brethren of their faith were burning was flickering through the glass windows of the conventicle.¹ Such was the man who preached a sermon in Culemburg Palace on Parma's wedding-day. The nobles who listened to him were occupied with grave discourse after conclusion of the religious exercises. Junius took no part in their conversation, but in his presence it was resolved that a league against the "barbarous and violent Inquisition" should be formed, and that the confederates should mutually bind themselves both within and without the Netherlands to this great purpose.² Junius, in giving this explicit statement, has not mentioned the names of the nobles before whom he preached. It may be inferred that some of them were the more ardent and the more respectable among the somewhat miscellaneous band by whom the Compromise was afterward signed.

At about the same epoch, Louis of Nassau, Nicolas de Hammes, and certain other gentlemen met at the baths of Spa. At this secret assembly the foundations of the Compromise were definitely laid.³ A document was afterward drawn up, which was circulated for signatures in the early part of 1566. It is therefore a mis-

¹ Vit. Junii, f. 16, apud Brandt, 290.

² Vit. Junii, f. 15, apud Brandt, 289.

³ This appears from the sentence pronounced against De Hammes (Toison d'Or) by the Blood-Council on the 17th May, 1568. "Chargé d'avoir este ung des autheurs de la seditieuse et pernicieuse conjuration et ligue des confederez (qu'ils appellent Compromis) et dicelle premièrement avoir jecte les fondemens à la fontaine de Spa, avecq le Compte Loys de Nassau et aultres et après environ le mois de Decembre, 1565, l'arreste la signe et jure en ceste villè de Bruxelles en sa maison et à icelle attire et induict

take to suppose that this memorable paper was simultaneously signed and sworn to at any solemn scene like that of the Declaration of American Independence, or like some of the subsequent transactions in the Netherland revolt, arranged purposely for dramatic effect. Several copies of the Compromise were passed secretly from hand to hand, and in the course of two months some two thousand signatures had been obtained.¹ The original copy bore but three names, those of Brederode, Charles de Mansfeld, and Louis of Nassau.² The composition of the paper is usually ascribed to Sainte-Aldegonde, although the fact is not indisputable.³ At any rate, it is very certain that he was one of the originators and main supporters of the famous league. Sainte-Aldegonde was one of the most accomplished men of his age. He was of ancient nobility, as he proved by an abundance of historical and heraldic evidence, in answer to a scurrilous pamphlet in which he had been accused, among other delinquencies, of having sprung from plebeian blood. Having established his "extraction from true and ancient gentlemen of Savoy, paternally and maternally," he rebuked his assailants in manly strain. "Even had it been that I was without nobility of birth," said he, "I should be none the less or more a virtuous or honest man; nor can any one reproach me with having failed in the point of honor or duty. What greater folly than to boast of the virtue

plusieurs aultres."—*Registre des Condamnés et Bannis à Cause des Troubles des Pays-Bas* dep. l'an 1568 à 1572, *Chambre des Comptes*, iii. MS. in the Brussels Archives.

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 400.

² Archives et Correspondance, ii. 2-7.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives et Correspondance, ii. 13.

or gallantry of others, as do many nobles who, having neither a grain of virtue in their souls nor a drop of wisdom in their brains, are entirely useless to their country! Yet there are such men, who, because their ancestors have done some valorous deed, think themselves fit to direct the machinery of a whole country, having from their youth learned nothing but to dance and to spin like weathercocks, with their heads as well as their heels.”¹ Certainly Sainte-Aldegonde had learned other lessons than these. He was one of the many-sided men who recalled the symmetry of antique patriots. He was a poet of much vigor and imagination, a prose writer whose style was surpassed by that of none of his contemporaries, a diplomatist in whose tact and delicacy William of Orange afterward reposed in the most difficult and important negotiations, an orator whose discourses on many great public occasions attracted the attention of Europe, a soldier whose bravery was to be attested afterward on many a well-fought field, a theologian so skilful in the polemics of divinity that, as it will hereafter appear, he was more than a match for a bench of bishops upon their own ground, and a scholar so accomplished that, besides speaking and writing the classical and several modern languages with facility, he had also translated for popular use the Psalms of David into vernacular verse, and at a very late period of his life was requested by the States-General of the Republic to translate all the Scriptures, a work the fulfilment of which was prevented by his

¹ Réponse à un libelle fameux naguères publié contre Monseigneur le P^ce d’Oranges et intitulé Lettres d’un gentilhomme vray patriote, etc. Faicte du Mons^r de S^{te} Aldegonde. Anvers: chez Giles van den Rade, 1579.

death.¹ A passionate foe to the Inquisition and to all the abuses of the ancient Church, an ardent defender of civil liberty, it must be admitted that he partook also of the tyrannical spirit of Calvinism. He never rose to the lofty heights to which the spirit of the great founder of the commonwealth was destined to soar, but denounced the great principle of religious liberty for all consciences as godless. He was now twenty-eight years of age, having been born in the same year with his friend Louis of Nassau. His device, "*Repos ailleurs*,"² finely typified the restless, agitated, and laborious life to which he was destined.

That other distinguished leader of the newly formed league, Count Louis, was a true knight of the olden time, the very mirror of chivalry. Gentle, generous, pious; making use, in his tent before the battle, of the prayers which his mother sent him from the home of his childhood,³ yet fiery in the field as an ancient crusader,—doing the work of general and soldier with desperate valor and against any numbers,—cheerful and steadfast under all reverses, witty and jocund in social intercourse, animating with his unceasing spirits the graver and more foreboding soul of his brother, he was the man to whom the eyes of the most ardent among the Netherland reformers were turned at this early epoch, the trusty staff upon which the great Prince of Orange was to lean till it was broken. As gay as Brederode, he was unstained by his vices, and exercised a boundless influence over that reckless personage, who often protested that he would "die a poor soldier at his feet."⁴ The career of Louis was destined to be short,

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., iii. 412, 413.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., ii. 260, 309.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 416.

if reckoned by years; but if by events, it was to attain almost a patriarchal length. At the age of nineteen he had taken part in the battle of St.-Quentin, and when once the war of freedom opened, his sword was never to be sheathed. His days were filled with life, and when he fell into his bloody but unknown grave he was to leave a name as distinguished for heroic valor and untiring energy as for spotless integrity. He was small of stature, but well formed; athletic in all knightly exercises, with agreeable features, a dark laughing eye, close-clipped brown hair, and a peaked beard.

"Golden Fleece," as Nicolas de Hammes was universally denominated, was the illegitimate scion of a noble house.¹ He was one of the most active of the early adherents to the league, kept the lists of signers in his possession, and scoured the country daily to procure new confederates.² At the public preachings of the Reformed religion, which soon after this epoch broke forth throughout the Netherlands as by a common impulse, he made himself conspicuous. He was accused of wearing, on such occasions, the ensigns of the Fleece about his neck, in order to induce ignorant people to believe that they might themselves legally follow when they perceived a member of that illustrious fraternity to be leading the way.³ As De Hammes was only an official or servant of that order, but not a companion, the seduction of the lieges by such false pretenses was reckoned among the most heinous of his offenses. He was fierce in his hostility to the government, and one of those fiery spirits whose premature zeal was prejudicial

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 399, note 2.

² Ibid., i. 400. Strada, v. 172.

³ Registre des Condamnés MS., ubi sup.

to the cause of liberty and disheartening to the cautious patriotism of Orange. He was for smiting at once the gigantic atrocity of the Spanish dominion, without waiting for the forging of the weapons by which the blows were to be dealt. He forgot that men and money were as necessary as wrath in a contest with the most tremendous despotism of the world. "They wish," he wrote to Count Louis, "that we should meet these hungry wolves with remonstrances, using gentle words, while they are burning and cutting off heads. Be it so, then. Let us take the pen, let them take the sword. For them deeds, for us words. We shall weep, they will laugh. The Lord be praised for all; but I cannot write this without tears."¹ This nervous language painted the situation and the character of the writer.

As for Charles Mansfeld, he soon fell away from the league, which he had embraced originally with excessive ardor.²

By the influence of the leaders many signatures were obtained during the first two months of the year. The language of the document was such that patriotic Catholics could sign it as honestly as Protestants. It inveighed bitterly against the tyranny of "a heap of strangers," who, influenced only by private avarice and ambition, were making use of an affected zeal for the Catholic religion to persuade the king into a violation of his oaths. It denounced the refusal to mitigate the severity of the edicts. It declared the Inquisition, which it seemed the intention of government to fix permanently upon them, as "iniquitous, contrary to all laws, human

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 36, 37.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., 303-306, 422. Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 409.

and divine, surpassing the greatest barbarism which was ever practised by tyrants, and as redounding to the dishonor of God and to the total desolation of the country." The signers protested, therefore, that, "having a due regard to their duties as faithful vassals of his Majesty, and especially as noblemen, and in order not to be deprived of their estates and their lives by those who, under pretext of religion, wished to enrich themselves by plunder and murder," they had bound themselves to each other by holy covenant and solemn oath to resist the Inquisition. They mutually promised to oppose it in every shape, open or covert, under whatever mask it might assume, whether bearing the name of Inquisition, placard, or edict, "and to extirpate and eradicate the thing in any form, as the mother of all iniquity and disorder." They protested before God and man that they would attempt nothing to the dishonor of the Lord or to the diminution of the king's grandeur, majesty, or dominion. They declared, on the contrary, an honest purpose to "maintain the monarch in his estate, and to suppress all seditions, tumults, monopolies, and factions." They engaged to preserve their confederation, thus formed, forever inviolable, and to permit none of its members to be persecuted in any manner, in body or goods, by any proceeding founded on the Inquisition, the edicts, or the present league.¹

It will be seen, therefore, that the Compromise was in its origin a covenant of *nobles*. It was directed against the foreign influence by which the Netherlands were exclusively governed, and against the Inquisition,

¹ The Compromise has been often printed. Vide, *e. g.*, Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 2 sqq. Foppens, Supplément à Strada, ii. 299 sqq. Bor, ii. 53, 54.

whether papal, episcopal, or by edict. There is no doubt that the country was controlled entirely by Spanish masters, and that the intention was to reduce the ancient liberty of the Netherlands into subjection to a junta of foreigners sitting at Madrid. Nothing more legitimate could be imagined than a constitutional resistance to such a policy.

The Prince of Orange had not been consulted as to the formation of the league.¹ It was sufficiently obvious to its founders that his cautious mind would find much to censure in the movement. His sentiments with regard to the Inquisition and the edicts were certainly known to all men. In the beginning of this year, too, he had addressed a remarkable letter² to the duchess, in answer to her written commands to cause the Council of Trent, the Inquisition, and the edicts, in accordance with the recent commands of the king, to be published and enforced throughout his government. Although his advice on the subject had not been asked, he expressed his sense of obligation to speak his mind on the subject, preferring the hazard of being censured for his remonstrance to that of incurring the suspicion of connivance at the desolation of the land by his silence. He left the question of reformation in ecclesiastical morals untouched, as not belonging to his vocation. As to the Inquisition, he most distinctly informed her Highness

¹ Groen v. Prinst., ii. 11, 15.

² 24th January, 1566. The letter is published by Groen v. Prinsterer, Archives, etc., ii. 16-21, and in Bor, 33, 34. It may be found also in Gachard, Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 106 sqq., and in Reiffenberg, Corresp. de Marg. d'Autriche, 16-20.

The original, entirely in the handwriting of the prince, is in the Archives of the State Council at Brussels.

that the hope which still lingered in the popular mind of escaping the permanent establishment of that institution had alone prevented the utter depopulation of the country, with entire subversion of its commercial and manufacturing industry. With regard to the edicts, he temperately but forcibly expressed the opinion that it was very hard to enforce those placards now in their rigor, when the people were exasperated and the misery universal, inasmuch as they had frequently been modified on former occasions. The king, he said, could gain nothing but difficulty for himself, and would be sure to lose the affection of his subjects, by renewing the edicts, strengthening the Inquisition, and proceeding to fresh executions, at a time when the people, moved by the example of their neighbors, were naturally inclined to novelty. Moreover, when by reason of the daily increasing prices of grain a famine was impending over the land, no worse moment could be chosen to enforce such a policy. In conclusion, he observed that he was at all times desirous to obey the commands of his Majesty and her Highness, and to discharge the duties of "a good Christian." The use of the latter term is remarkable, as marking an epoch in the history of the prince's mind. A year before he would have said a good Catholic, but it was during this year that his mind began to be thoroughly pervaded by religious doubt, and that the great question of the Reformation forced itself, not only as a political, but as a moral problem, upon him, which he felt that he could not much longer neglect instead of solving.

Such were the opinions of Orange. He could not, however, safely intrust the sacred interests of a commonwealth to such hands as those of Brederode,—how-

ever deeply that enthusiastic personage might drink the health of "Younker William," as he affectionately denominated the prince,—or to "Golden Fleece," or to Charles Mansfeld, or to that younger wild boar of Ardennes, Robert de la Marek. In his brother and in Sainte-Aldegonde he had confidence, but he did not exercise over them that control which he afterward acquired. His conduct toward the confederacy was imitated in the main by the other great nobles. The covenanters never expected to obtain the signatures of such men as Orange, Egmont, Horn, Meghen, Berghen, or Montigny, nor were those eminent personages ever accused of having signed the Compromise, although some of them were afterward charged with having protected those who did affix their names to the document. The confederates were originally found among the lesser nobles. Of these some were sincere Catholics, who loved the ancient Church but hated the Inquisition; some were fierce Calvinists or determined Lutherans; some were troublous and adventurous spirits, men of broken fortunes, extravagant habits, and boundless desires, who no doubt thought that the broad lands of the Church, with their stately abbeys, would furnish much more fitting homes and revenues for gallant gentlemen than for lazy monks.¹ All were young, few had any prudence or conduct, and the history of the league more than justified the disapprobation of Orange. The nobles thus banded together achieved little by their confederacy. They disgraced a great cause by their orgies, almost ruined it by their inefficiency, and when the rope of sand which they had twisted fell asunder, the people had gained nothing and the gentry had almost lost the

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

confidence of the nation. These remarks apply to the mass of the confederates and to some of the leaders. Louis of Nassau and Sainte-Aldegonde were ever honored and trusted as they deserved.

Although the language of the Compromise spoke of the leaguers as nobles, yet the document was circulated among burghers and merchants also, many of whom, according to the satirical remark of a Netherland Catholic, may have been influenced by the desire of writing their names in such aristocratic company, and some of whom were destined to expiate such vainglory upon the scaffold.¹

With such associates, therefore, the profound and anxious mind of Orange could have little in common. Confidence expanding as the numbers increased, their audacity and turbulence grew with the growth of the league. The language at their wild banquets was as hot as the wine which confused their heads; yet the prince knew that there was rarely a festival in which there did not sit some calm, temperate Spaniard, watching with quiet eye and cool brain the extravagant demeanor, and listening with composure to the dangerous avowals or bravados of these revelers, with the purpose of transmitting a record of their language or demonstrations to the inmost sanctuary of Philip's cabinet at Madrid.² The prince knew, too, that the king was very

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² "Les faisant seoir le plus souvent au plus beau de leurs tables par une courtoise manière de faire que nous avons de caresser les étrangers; sy tost que le vin estoit monté au cerveau de nos seigneurs et gentilshommes parloient librement à leur accoustumée de toutes choses, decouvrant par grande simplesse ce qu'ils avoient au cœur, sans considérer que ces oiseaux estoient à leurs tables, lesquels demeurans tousjours en cervelle notoyent

sincere in his determination to maintain the Inquisition, however dilatory his proceedings might appear. He was well aware that an armed force might be expected ere long to support the royal edicts. Already the prince had organized that system of espionage upon Philip, by which the champion of his country was so long able to circumvent its despot. The king left letters carefully locked in his desk at night, and unseen hands had forwarded copies of them to William of Orange before the morning. He left memoranda in his pockets on retiring to bed, and exact transcripts of those papers found their way, likewise, ere he rose,¹ to the same watchman in the Netherlands. No doubt that an inclination for political intrigue was a prominent characteristic of the prince, and a blemish upon the purity of his moral nature. Yet the dissimulating policy of his age he had mastered only that he might accomplish the noblest purposes to which a great and good man can devote his life—the protection of the liberty and the religion of a whole people against foreign tyranny. His intrigue served his country, not a narrow personal ambition, and it was only by such arts that he became Philip's master, instead of falling at once, like so many great personages, a blind and infatuated victim. No doubt his purveyors of secret information were often destined fearfully to

diligemment le propos des convivans jusques à remarquer leurs contenance pour en faire rapport à certains commis qu'ils appelloient auditeurs."—Pontus Payen MS., liv. i.

¹ Pontus Payen MS.: "Entre aultres par le Secretaire Van den Esse, lequel abusant de la privaulté du Roy son maistre, avoit (comme aulcuns veullent dire) esté si téméraire de fureter sa poche, pendant qu'il estoit au lict, et lire les lettres secretes qu'il recevoit de Madame de Parme et du Cardinal, faisant après entendre le contenu au Prince d'Orange," etc.

atone for their contraband commerce, but they who trade in treason must expect to pay the penalty of their traffic.

Although, therefore, the great nobles held themselves aloof from the confederacy, yet many of them gave unequivocal signs of their dissent from the policy adopted by government. Marquis Berghen wrote to the duchess, resigning his posts, on the ground of his inability to execute the intention of the king in the matter of religion. Meghen replied to the same summons by a similar letter. Egmont assured her that he would have placed his offices in the king's hands in Spain, could he have foreseen that his Majesty would form such resolutions as had now been proclaimed. The sentiments of Orange were avowed in the letter to which we have already alluded. His opinions were shared by Montigny, Culemburg, and many others. The duchess was almost reduced to desperation. The condition of the country was frightful. The most determined loyalists, such as Berlaymont, Viglius, and Hopper, advised her not to mention the name of Inquisition in a conference which she was obliged to hold with a deputation from Antwerp.¹ She feared, all feared, to pronounce the hated word. She wrote despairing letters to Philip, describing the condition of the land and her own agony in the gloomiest colors. Since the arrival of the royal orders, she said, things had gone from bad to worse. The king had been ill advised. It was useless to tell the people that the Inquisition had always existed in the provinces. They maintained that it was a novelty; that the institution was a more rigorous one than the Spanish Inquisition, which, said Margaret,

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 386, 387, 397.

"was most odious, as the king knew."¹ It was utterly impossible to carry the edicts into execution. Nearly all the governors of provinces had told her plainly that they would not help to burn fifty or sixty thousand Netherlanders.² Thus bitterly did Margaret of Parma bewail the royal decree; not that she had any sympathy for the victims, but because she felt the increasing danger to the executioner. One of two things it was now necessary to decide upon—concession or armed compulsion. Meantime, while Philip was slowly and secretly making his levies, his sister, as well as his people, was on the rack. Of all the seigniors, not one was placed in so painful a position as Egmont. His military reputation and his popularity made him too important a personage to be slighted, yet he was deeply mortified at the lamentable mistake which he had committed. He now averred that he *would never take arms against the king*, but that he would go where man should never see him more.³

Such was the condition of the nobles, greater and less. That of the people could not well be worse. Famine reigned in the land.⁴ Emigration, caused not by overpopulation, but by persecution, was fast weakening the country. It was no wonder that not only foreign merchants should be scared from the great commercial cities by the approaching disorders, but that every industrious artisan who could find the means of escape should seek refuge among strangers wherever an asylum could be found. That asylum was afforded by

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 386, 387, 397.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., i. 391.

⁴ Pasquier de la Barre MS., 1^{vo}. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 392.

Protestant England, who received these intelligent and unfortunate wanderers with cordiality, and learned with eagerness the lessons in mechanical skill which they had to teach. Already thirty thousand emigrant Netherlanders were established in Sandwich, Norwich, and other places assigned to them by Elizabeth.¹ It had always, however, been made a condition of the liberty granted to these foreigners for practising their handiwork that each house should employ at least one English apprentice.² "Thus," said a Walloon historian, splenetically, "by this regulation, and by means of heavy duties on foreign manufactures, have the English built up their own fabries and prohibited those of the Netherlands. Thus have they drawn over to their own country our skilful artisans to practise their industry, not at home but abroad, and our poor people are thus losing the means of earning their livelihood. Thus has cloth-making, silk-making, and the art of dyeing declined in this country, and would have been quite extinguished but by our wise countervailing edicts."³ The writer, who derived most of his materials and his wisdom from the papers of Councilor d'Assonleville, could hardly doubt that the persecution to which these industrious artisans, whose sufferings he affected to deplore, had been subjected must have had something to do with their expatriation; but he preferred to ascribe it wholly to the protective system adopted by England. In this he followed the opinion of his preceptor. "For a long

¹ Pasquier de la Barre MS., 1^{vo}.

² Renom de France MS.: "Et affin de faire croistre ces mestiers et artifices en Angleterre, nul de ceulx qui se sont retirés illecq ont peu faire mestiers s'ils n'avoient apprentis-seurs Anglois, un pour le moins."—i. c. iv.

³ Ibid., ubi sup.

time," said Assonleville, "the Netherlands have been the Indies to England; and as long as she has them, she needs no other. The French try to surprise our fortresses and cities; the English make war upon our wealth and upon the purses of the people."¹ Whatever the cause, however, the current of trade was already turned. The cloth-making of England was already gaining preponderance over that of the provinces. Vessels now went every week from Sandwich to Antwerp, laden with silk, satin, and cloth manufactured in England, while as many but a few years before had borne the Flemish fabrics of the same nature from Antwerp to England.²

It might be supposed by disinterested judges that persecution was at the bottom of this change in commerce. The Prince of Orange estimated that up to this period fifty thousand persons in the provinces had been put to death in obedience to the edicts.³ He was a moderate man, and accustomed to weigh his words. As a new impulse had been given to the system of butchery; as it was now sufficiently plain that "if the father had chastised his people with a scourge, the son held a whip of scorpions";⁴ as the edicts were to be enforced with renewed vigor, it was natural that commerce and manufactures should make their escape out of a doomed land as soon as possible, whatever system of tariffs might be adopted by neighboring nations.

A new step had been resolved upon early in the month of March by the confederates. A petition, or "Re-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 382.

² Ibid., i. 392.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 22.

⁴ Apologie d'Orange, 58.

quest," was drawn up, which was to be presented to the duchess regent in a formal manner by a large number of gentlemen belonging to the league. This movement was so grave, and likely to be followed by such formidable results, that it seemed absolutely necessary for Orange and his friends to take some previous cognizance of it before it was finally arranged. The prince had no power, nor was there any reason why he should have the inclination, to prevent the measure, but he felt it his duty to do what he could to control the vehemence of the men who were moving so rashly forward, and to take from their manifesto, as much as possible, the character of a menace.

For this end a meeting ostensibly for social purposes and "good cheer" was held, in the middle of March, at Breda, and afterward adjourned to Hoogstraaten. To these conferences Orange invited Egmont, Horn, Hoogstraaten, Berghen, Meghen, Montigny, and other great nobles. Brederode, Tholouse, Boxtel, and other members of the league were also present.¹ The object of the prince in thus assembling his own immediate associates, governors of provinces and Knights of the Fleece, as well as some of the leading members of the league, was twofold. It had long been his opinion that a temperate and loyal movement was still possible, by which the impending convulsions might be averted. The line of policy which he had marked out required the assent of the magnates of the land, and looked toward the convocation of the States-General. It was natural that

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 38 sqq. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 397, 398, 399. Foppens, Supplément, i. 78, 79, Procès d'Egmont. Compare Bentivoglio, ii. 27; Wagenaer, vi. 133, 134; Van der Haer, 305 sqq.; Apologie d'Orange, 56 sqq.

he should indulge in the hope of being seconded by the men who were in the same political and social station with himself. All, although Catholics, hated the Inquisition. As Viglius pathetically exclaimed, "St. Paul himself would have been unable to persuade these men that good fruit was to be gathered from the Inquisition in the cause of religion."¹ St. Paul could hardly be expected to reappear on earth for such a purpose. Meantime the arguments of the learned president had proved powerless either to convince the nobles that the institution was laudable or to obtain from the duchess a postponement in the publication of the late decrees. The Prince of Orange, however, was not able to bring his usual associates to his way of thinking. The violent purposes of the leaguers excited the wrath of the more loyal nobles. Their intentions were so dangerous, even in the estimation of the prince himself, that he felt it his duty to lay the whole subject before the duchess, although he was not opposed to the presentation of a modest and moderate request.² Meghen was excessively indignant at the plan of the confederates, which he pronounced an insult to the government, a treasonable attempt to overawe the duchess by a "few wretched vagabonds."³ He swore that "he would break every one of their heads, if the king would furnish him with a couple of hundred thousand florins."⁴ Orange quietly rebuked this truculent language by assuring him both that such a process would be more difficult than he thought, and that he would also find many men of great respectability among the vagabonds.

¹ Vigl. Epist. ad Hopperum, 359.

² Apologie d'Orange, 58.

³ Van der Haer, 306: "Pauci nebulones."

⁴ Ibid.

The meeting separated at Hoogstraaten without any useful result, but it was now incumbent upon the prince, in his own judgment, to watch, and in a measure to superintend, the proceedings of the confederates. By his care the contemplated Request was much altered, and especially made more gentle in its tone. Meghen separated himself thenceforth entirely from Orange, and ranged himself exclusively upon the side of government. Egmont vacillated, as usual, satisfying neither the prince nor the duchess.¹

Margaret of Parma was seated in her council-chamber very soon after these occurrences, attended both by Orange and Egmont, when the Count of Meghen entered the apartment. With much precipitation, he begged that all matters then before the board might be postponed, in order that he might make an important announcement. He then stated that he had received information from a gentleman on whose word he could rely, a very affectionate servant of the king, but whose name he had promised not to reveal, that a very extensive conspiracy of heretics and sectaries had been formed, both within and without the Netherlands, that they had already a force of thirty-five thousand men, foot and horse, ready for action, that they were about to make a sudden invasion and to plunder the whole country, unless they immediately received a formal concession of entire liberty of conscience, and that within six or seven days fifteen hundred men-at-arms would make their appearance before her Highness.² These ridiculous exaggerations of the truth were confirmed

¹ Van der Haer, 309.

² Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 69 sqq. Foppens, *Supplément*, ii. 293 sqq. Hoofd, ii. 71, 72.

by Egmont, who said that he had received similar information from persons whose names he was not at liberty to mention, but from whose statements he could announce that some great tumult might be expected every day. He added that there were among the confederates many who wished to change their sovereign, and that the chieftains and captains of the conspiracy were all appointed.¹ The same nobleman also laid before the council a copy of the Compromise,² the terms of which famous document scarcely justified the extravagant language with which it had been heralded. The duchess was astounded at these communications. She had already received, but probably not yet read, a letter from the Prince of Orange upon the subject, in which a moderate and plain statement of the actual facts was laid down, which was now reiterated by the same personage by word of mouth.³ An agitated and inconclusive debate followed, in which, however, it sufficiently appeared, as the duchess informed her brother, that one of two things must be done without further delay. The time had arrived for the government to take up arms, or to make concessions.

In one of the informal meetings of councilors, now held almost daily, on the subject of the impending Request, Aremberg, Meghen, and Berlaymont maintained that the door should be shut in the face of the petitioners without taking any further notice of the petition. Berlaymont suggested also that if this course were not

¹ Foppens, Supplément, 293 sqq., Letter of Margaret of Parma to Philippe II.

² Hopper, 70.

³ Foppens, Supplément, ii., Letter of Margaret of Parma. Hopper, 70.

found advisable, the next best thing would be to allow the confederates to enter the palace with their Request, and then to cut them to pieces to the very last man, by means of troops to be immediately ordered from the frontiers.¹ Such sanguinary projects were indignantly rebuked by Orange. He maintained that the confederates were entitled to be treated with respect. Many of them, he said, were his friends, some of them his relations, and there was no reason for refusing to gentlemen of their rank a right which belonged to the poorest plebeian in the land. Egmont sustained these views of the prince as earnestly as he had on a previous occasion appeared to countenance the more violent counsels of Meghen.²

Meantime, as it was obvious that the demonstration on the part of the confederacy was soon about to be made, the duchess convened a grand assembly of notables, in which not only all the state and privy councillors, but all the governors and Knights of the Fleece were to take part. On the 28th of March³ this assembly was held, at which the whole subject of the Request, together with the proposed modifications of the edicts and abolition of the Inquisition, was discussed. The duchess also requested the advice of the meeting whether it would not be best for her to retire to some other city,

¹ Pontus Payen, ii., MS. : "Les Comtes de Megne, d'Arenberg, et Sr de Berlaymont estoient d'avis de leur fermer la porte au visaige . . . ou bien les laisser au Palais et puis les faire tailler en piéces par les gens de guerre, que l'on feroit venir des frontieres." Compare Van der Haer, 307, 308.

² Pontus Payen MS. Van der Haer, 308.

³ Foppens, Supplément, ii. 304-318, Letter of Margaret of Parma, 3d April, 1565. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 403-406.

like Mons, which she had selected as her stronghold in case of extremity. The decision was that it would be a high-handed proceeding to refuse the right of petition to a body of gentlemen, many of them related to the greatest nobles in the land; but it was resolved that they should be required to make their appearance without arms. As to the contemplated flight of the duchess, it was urged, with much reason, that such a step would cast disgrace upon the government, and that it would be a sufficiently precautionary measure to strengthen the guards at the city gates—not to prevent the entrance of the petitioners, but to see that they were unaccompanied by an armed force. It had been decided that Count Brederode should present the petition to the duchess at the head of a deputation of about three hundred gentlemen. The character of the nobleman thus placed foremost on such an important occasion has been sufficiently made manifest. He had no qualities whatever but birth and audacity to recommend him as a leader for a political party. It was to be seen that other attributes were necessary to make a man useful in such a position, and the count's deficiencies soon became lamentably conspicuous. He was the lineal descendant and representative of the old sovereign counts of Holland. Five hundred years before his birth, his ancestor Sikko, younger brother of Dirk III, had died, leaving two sons, one of whom was the first Baron of Brederode.¹ A descent of five centuries in unbroken male succession from the original sovereigns of Holland gave him a better genealogical claim to the provinces than any which Philip of Spain could assert through the usurping house of Burgundy. In the ap-

¹ Wagenaer, ii. 150.

proaching tumults he hoped for an opportunity of again asserting the ancient honors of his name. He was a sworn foe to Spaniards and to "water of the fountain."¹ But a short time previously to this epoch he had written to Louis of Nassau, then lying ill of a fever, in order gravely to remonstrate with him on the necessity of substituting wine for water on all occasions,² and it will be seen in the sequel that the wine-cup was the great instrument on which he relied for effecting the deliverance of the country. Although "neither bachelor nor chancellor,"³ as he expressed it, he was supposed to be endowed with ready eloquence and mother-wit.⁴ Even these gifts, however, if he possessed them, were often found wanting on important emergencies. Of his courage there was no question, but he was not destined to the death either of a warrior or a martyr. Headlong, noisy, debauched, but brave, kind-hearted, and generous, he was a fitting representative of his ancestors, the hard-fighting, hard-drinking, crusading, free-booting sovereigns of Holland and Friesland, and would himself have been more at home and more useful in the eleventh century than in the sixteenth.

It was about six o'clock in the evening, on the third day of April (1566), that the long-expected cavalcade at last entered Brussels.⁵ An immense concourse of citizens of all ranks thronged around the noble confederates as soon as they made their appearance. They were

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., i. 397.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid., ii. 95.

⁴ "Ingenti verborum factorumque audaciâ."—Van der Haer, 308.

⁵ Bor, ii. 58. Foppens, Supplément, ii. 337. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 403–406.

about two hundred in number, all on horseback, with pistols in their holsters, and Brederode, tall, athletic, and martial in his bearing, with handsome features and fair curling locks upon his shoulders, seemed an appropriate chieftain for that band of Batavian chivalry.¹ The procession was greeted with frequent demonstrations of applause as it wheeled slowly through the city till it reached the mansion of Orange Nassau. Here Brederode and Count Louis alighted, while the rest of the company dispersed to different quarters of the town.

"They thought that I should not come to Brussels," said Brederode, as he dismounted. "Very well, here I am; and perhaps I shall depart in a different manner."² In the course of the next day, Counts Culemburg and Van den Berg entered the city with one hundred other cavaliers.

On the morning of the 5th of April the confederates were assembled at the Culemburg mansion, which stood on the square called the Sablon,³ within a few minutes' walk of the palace. A straight, handsome street led from the house along the summit of the hill to the splendid residence of the ancient dukes of Brabant, then the abode of Duchess Margaret. At a little before noon the gentlemen came forth, marching on foot, two by two, to the number of three hundred. Nearly all

¹ "Hy is geweest een man van lange stature, rosagtig van aengesicht, met blond gekrult haar, wel gemaakt van lijf en van leden . . . ont vert saegt en kloek ter wapenen," etc.—Bor, iii. 168^b.

² "Eh bien, j'y suis, et j'en sortirai d'une autre manière, peut-être."—Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 403–406.

³ The site of the Culemburg mansion was afterward occupied by the church of the "Carmes déchaussés," upon the ruins of which a *maison de détention* has risen.

were young, many of them bore the most ancient historical names of their country, every one was arrayed in magnificent costume.¹ It was regarded as ominous that the man who led the procession, Philip de Bailleul, was lame. The line was closed by Brederode and Count Louis, who came last, walking arm in arm. An immense crowd was collected in the square in front of the palace to welcome the men who were looked upon as the deliverers of the land from Spanish tyranny, from the cardinalists, and from the Inquisition. They were received with deafening huzzas and clappings of hands by the assembled populace. As they entered the council-chamber, passing through the great hall where ten years before the emperor had given away his crowns, they found the emperor's daughter seated in the chair of state, and surrounded by the highest personages of the country. The emotion of the duchess was evident as the procession somewhat abruptly made its appearance; nor was her agitation diminished as she observed among the petitioners many relatives and retainers of the Orange and Egmont houses, and saw friendly glances of recognition exchanged between them and their chiefs.²

As soon as all had entered the senate-room, Brederode advanced, made a low obeisance, and spoke a brief speech.³ He said that he had come thither with his colleagues to present a humble petition to her Highness. He alluded to the reports which had been rife that they had contemplated tumult, sedition, foreign conspiracies, and, what was more abominable than all,

¹ Pontus Payen, ii., MS.

² Ibid.

³ According to Viglius, he *read* the speech: "*ex scripto pauca præfatus.*"—Ep. ad Hopper, vii. 358.

a change of sovereign. He denounced such statements as calumnies, begged the duchess to name the men who had thus aspersed an honorable and loyal company, and called upon her to inflict exemplary punishment upon the slanderers. With these prefatory remarks he presented the petition. The famous document was then read aloud.¹ Its tone was sufficiently loyal, particularly in the preamble, which was filled with protestations of devotion to both king and duchess. After this conventional introduction, however, the petitioners proceeded to state, very plainly, that the recent resolutions of his Majesty with regard to the edicts and the Inquisition were likely to produce a general rebellion. They had hoped, they said, that a movement would be made by the seigniors or by the estates to remedy the evil by striking at its cause, but they had waited in vain. The danger, on the other hand, was augmenting every day, universal sedition was at the gate, and they had therefore felt obliged to delay no longer, but come forward the first and do their duty. They professed to do this with more freedom, because the danger touched them very nearly. They were the most exposed to the calamities which usually spring from civil commotions, for their houses and lands situate in the open fields were exposed to the pillage of all the world. Moreover, there was not one of them, whatever his condition, who was not liable at any moment to be executed under the edicts, at the false complaint of the first man who wished to obtain his estate, and who chose to denounce him to the inquisitor, at whose mercy were the lives and property of

¹ It has been often printed. Vide, *e. g.*, Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 80-84; Foppens, Supplément, ii. 318-323; Bor, ii. 58, 59; et mult. al.

all. They therefore begged the duchess regent to despatch an envoy on their behalf, who should humbly implore his Majesty to abolish the edicts. In the meantime they requested her Highness to order a general surcease of the Inquisition and of all executions until the king's further pleasure was made known, and until new ordinances, made by his Majesty with advice and consent of the States-General duly assembled, should be established. The petition terminated as it had commenced, with expressions of extreme respect and devoted loyalty.

The agitation of Duchess Margaret increased very perceptibly during the reading of the paper. When it was finished, she remained for a few minutes quite silent, with tears rolling down her cheeks.¹ As soon as she could overcome her excitement, she uttered a few words to the effect that she would advise with her counselors and give the petitioners such answer as should be found suitable. The confederates then passed out from the council-chamber into the grand hall, each individual, as he took his departure, advancing toward the duchess and making what was called the "caracole," in token of reverence. There was thus ample time to contemplate the whole company, and to count the numbers of the deputation.²

After this ceremony had been concluded there was much earnest debate in the council. The Prince of

¹ "Madame la Duchesse se trouva de prime face fort troublée . . . demeura bonne espace de temps sans dire mot, ne pouvant contenir les larmes que l'on voioit couler de sa face, tesmoignage certain de la tristesse qu'enduroit son esprit."—Pontus Payen, ii., MS.

² "Tournoyans et faisans la caracole devant la dite Dame," etc.—Pontus Payen MS.

Orange addressed a few words to the duchess, with the view of calming her irritation. He observed that the confederates were no seditious rebels, but loyal gentlemen, well born, well connected, and of honorable character. They had been influenced, he said, by an honest desire to save their country from impending danger—not by avarice or ambition. Egmont shrugged his shoulders,¹ and observed that it was necessary for him to leave the court for a season, in order to make a visit to the baths of Aix for an inflammation which he had in the leg.² It was then that Berlaymont, according to the account which has been sanctioned by nearly every contemporary writer, whether Catholic or Protestant, uttered the gibe which was destined to become immortal and to give a popular name to the confederacy. “What, madam!” he is reported to have cried in a passion, “is it possible that your Highness can entertain fears of these beggars (*gueux*)? Is it not obvious what manner of men they are? They have not had wisdom enough to manage their own estates, and are they now to teach the king and your Highness how to govern the country? By the living God, if my advice were taken, their petition should have a cudgel for a commentary, and we would make them go down the steps of the palace a great deal faster than they mounted them!”³

The Count of Meghen was equally violent in his lan-

¹ “En haussant les épaules à l’Italienne,” etc.—Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid. Compare Foppens, Supplément, ii. 345; i. 68.

³ “Le Sr. de Berlaymont . . . prononça par grande colère les parolles mémorables que firent changer de nom aux gentilshommes confédérez. . . . Et comment, Madame, votre Alteze at elle crainte de ces gueux? . . . Par le Dieu vivant, qui croirait mon conseil leur Requeste seroit appostillée à belles bastonnades, et les ferions

guage. Aremberg was for ordering "*their reverences* the confederates" to quit Brussels without delay.¹ The conversation, carried on in so violent a key, might not unnaturally have been heard by such of the gentlemen as had not yet left the grand hall adjoining the council-chamber. The meeting of the council was then adjourned for an hour or two, to meet again in the afternoon, for the purpose of deciding deliberately upon the answer to be given to the Request. Meanwhile many of the confederates were swaggering about the streets, talking very bravely of the scene which had just occurred, and, it is probable, boasting not a little of the effect which their demonstration would produce.² As they passed by the house of Berlaymont, that nobleman, standing at his window in company with Count Aremberg, is said to have repeated his jest. "There go our fine beggars again," said he. "Look, I pray you, with what bravado they are passing before us!"³

descendre les degrés de la court plus vistement qu'ils les ont montés."—Pontus Payen, ii., MS.

¹ Ibid.

² "Allerent faire la piaffe par la ville . . . repartis en diverses bandes," etc.—Ibid.

³ "Voilà nos beaux gueux," diet-il. "Regardez, je vous prie, avec quelle bravade ils passent devant nous."—Ibid.

Notwithstanding the skepticism of M. Gachard (Note sur l'origine du nom de Gueux, t. xiii. des Bulletins de la Com. Roy. d'Histoire), it is probable that the Seigneur de Berlaymont will retain the reputation of originating the famous name of the "beggars." M. Gachard cites Wesenbeck, Bor, Le Petit, Meteren, among contemporaries, and Strada and Van der Vynckt among later writers, as having sanctioned the anecdote in which the taunt of Berlaymont is recorded. The learned and acute critic is disposed to question the accuracy of the report, both upon a priori grounds and because there is no mention made of the circumstance either in the official or confidential correspondence of Duchess

On the 6th of April, Brederode, attended by a large number of his companions, again made his appearance at the palace. He then received the petition, which was returned to him with an apostil, or commentary, to this effect: Her Highness would despatch an envoy for the purpose of inducing his Majesty to grant the Request. Everything worthy of the king's unaffected (naïve) and customary benignity might be expected as to the result. The duchess had already, with the assistance of the state and privy councilors, Fleece Knights and governors, commenced a project for moderating the edicts, to be laid before the king. As her authority did not allow her to suspend the Inquisition and placards, she was confident that the petitioners would be satisfied with the special application about to be made to the king. Meantime she would give orders to all inquisitors that they should proceed "modestly and discreetly" in their office, so that no one would have cause to complain. Her Highness hoped likewise that the gentlemen on their part would conduct themselves in a loyal and

Margaret with the king. It is possible, however, that the duchess in her agitation did not catch the expression of Berlaymont, or did not understand it, or did not think it worth while to chronicle it if she did. It must be remembered that she was herself not very familiar with the French language, and that she was writing to a man who thought that "pistolle meant some kind of knife." She certainly did not and could not report everything said upon that memorable occasion. On the other hand, some of the three hundred gentlemen present might have heard and understood better than Madame de Parma the sarcasm of the finance minister, whether it were uttered upon their arrival in the council-chamber, or during their withdrawal into the hall. The testimony of Pontus Payen—a contemporary almost always well informed, and one whose position as a Catholic Walloon, noble and official, necessarily brought him into contact with many personages engaged

satisfactory manner, thus proving that they had no intention to make innovations in the ancient religion of the country.¹

Upon the next day but one, Monday, 8th of April, Brederode, attended by a number of the confederates, again made his appearance at the palace for the purpose of delivering an answer to the apostil. In this second paper the confederates rendered thanks for the prompt reply which the duchess had given to their Request, expressed regrets that she did not feel at liberty to suspend the Inquisition, and declared their confidence that she would at once give such orders to the inquisitors and magistrates that prosecutions for religious matters should cease, until the king's further pleasure should be declared. They professed themselves desirous of maintaining whatever regulations should be thereafter established by his Majesty, with the advice and consent of the States-General, for the security of the ancient religion, and promised to conduct themselves generally in such wise that her Highness would have every reason

in the transactions which he describes—is worthy of much respect. It is to be observed, too, that this manuscript alludes to a *repetition* by Berlaymont of his famous sarcasm upon the same day. To the names of contemporary historians cited by M. Gachard may be added those of Van der Haer (ii. 314) and of two foreign writers, President de Thou (Hist. Universelle, v. lib. xx. 216) and Cardinal Bentivoglio (Guerra di Fiandra, ii. 32). Hoofd, not a contemporary, certainly, but born within four or five years of the event, relates the anecdote, but throws a doubt upon its accuracy (Hist., ii. 77). Those inclined to acquit the baron of having perpetrated the immortal witticism will give him the benefit of the doubt if they think it a reasonable one. That it is so, they have the high authority of M. Gachard and of the Provost Hoofd.

¹ Foppens, 324 sqq. Groen v. Prinst., ii. 84 sqq. Strada, v. 186. Bor, ii. 59. Hopper, 74, 75.

to be satisfied with them. They, moreover, requested that the duchess would cause the petition to be printed in authentic form by the government printer.¹

The admission that the confederates would maintain the ancient religion had been obtained, as Margaret informed her brother, through the dexterous management of Hoogstraaten, without suspicion on the part of the petitioners that the proposition for such a declaration came from her.²

The duchess replied by word of mouth to the second address thus made to her by the confederates that she could not go beyond the apostil which she had put on record. She had already caused letters for the inquisitors and magistrates to be drawn up. The minutes for those instructions should be laid before the confederates by Count Hoogstraaten and Secretary Berty. As for the printing of their petition, she was willing to grant their demand, and would give orders to that effect.³

The gentlemen, having received this answer, retired into the great hall. After a few minutes' consultation, however, they returned to the council-chamber, where the Seigneur d'Esquerdes, one of their number, addressed a few parting words, in the name of his associates, to the regent, concluding with a request that she would declare the confederates to have done no act, and made no demonstration, inconsistent with their duty and with a perfect respect for his Majesty.

To this demand the duchess answered somewhat dryly that she could not be judge in such a cause. Time and

¹ Bor, ii. 60. Hopper, 74, 75. Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 86, 87. Foppens, Supplément, ii. 333.

² Foppens, Supplément, ii. 339, Letter of Margaret of Parma.

³ Ibid., ii. 335, 336. Bor, ii. 60, 61.

their future deeds, she observed, could only bear witness as to their purposes. As for declarations from her, they must be satisfied with the apostil which they had already received.¹

With this response, somewhat more tart than agreeable, the nobles were obliged to content themselves, and they accordingly took their leave.

It must be confessed that they had been disposed to slide rather cavalierly over a good deal of ground toward the great object which they had in view. Certainly the *petitio principii* was a main feature of their logic. They had, in their second address, expressed perfect confidence as to two very considerable concessions. The duchess was practically to suspend the Inquisition, although she had declared herself without authority for that purpose. The king, who claimed, *de jure* and *de facto*, the whole legislative power, was thenceforth to make laws on religious matters by and with the consent of the States-General. Certainly these ends were very laudable, and if a civil and religious revolution could have been effected by a few gentlemen going to court in fine clothes to present a petition, and by sitting down to a tremendous banquet afterward, Brederode and his associates were the men to accomplish the task. Unfortunately, a sea of blood and long years of conflict lay between the nation and the promised land which for a moment seemed so nearly within reach.

Meantime the next important step in Brederode's eyes was a dinner. He accordingly invited the confederates to a magnificent repast which he had ordered to be prepared in the Culemburg mansion. Three hundred guests sat down, upon the 8th of April, to this

¹ Bor, Hoofd, Strada, ubi sup.

luxurious banquet, which was destined to become historical.¹

The board glittered with silver and gold. The wine circulated with more than its usual rapidity among the band of noble bacchanals, who were never weary of drinking the healths of Brederode, of Orange, and of Egmont. It was thought that the occasion imperiously demanded an extraordinary carouse, and the political events of the past three days lent an additional excitement to the wine. There was an earnest discussion as to an appropriate name to be given to their confederacy. Should they call themselves the "Society of Concord," the restorers of lost liberty, or by what other attractive title should the league be baptized? Brederode was, however, already prepared to settle the question. He knew the value of a popular and original name; he possessed the instinct by which adroit partizans in every age have been accustomed to convert the reproachful epithets of their opponents into watchwords of honor, and he had already made his preparations for a startling theatrical effect. Suddenly, amid the din of voices, he arose, with all his rhetorical powers at command. He recounted to the company the observations which the Seigneur de Berlaymont was reported to have made to the duchess upon the presentation of the Request, and the name which he had thought fit to apply to them collectively.² Most of the gentlemen then heard the

¹ Strada, v. 186-188. Hoofd, ii. 77. Bentivoglio, ii. 32. Van der Vynckt, i. 265-267.

² Pontus Payen, ii., MS.

The manuscript entitled "*Pièces concernant les troubles des Pays-Bas*," belonging to the Gerard Collection in the Archives of The Hague, and ascribed to Weyenburg, gives a similar account,



THE BANQUET OF THE GUEUX OR BEGGARS.
Painting by Ch. Soubre.



memorable sarcasm for the first time. Great was the indignation of all that the state councilor should have dared to stigmatize as beggars a band of gentlemen with the best blood of the land in their veins. Brederode, on the contrary, smoothing their anger, assured them with good humor that nothing could be more fortunate. "They call us beggars!" said he. "Let us accept the name. We will contend with the Inquisition, but remain loyal to the king, even till compelled to wear the beggar's sack."

He then beckoned to one of his pages, who brought him a leathern wallet, such as was worn at that day by professional mendicants, together with a large wooden bowl, which also formed part of their regular appurtenances. Brederode immediately hung the wallet around his neck, filled the bowl with wine, lifted it with both hands, and drained it at a draught. "Long live the beggars!" he cried, as he wiped his beard and set the bowl down. "Vivent les gueux!" Then for the first time, from the lips of those reckless nobles, rose the famous cry which was so often to ring over land and sea, amid blazing cities, on blood-stained decks, through the smoke and carnage of many a stricken field. The

furnishing, although Berlaymont's name is not *actually* mentioned, an additional contemporary authority to the accuracy of the commonly received narrative. "Le Sgr de Brederode fit un festin magnifique, où se trouverent 300 gentilshommes, lesquels se firent *appeller gueulx*, ne sçay l'occasion pourquoy, aultrement qu'auleuns disent que le source et origine en seroit qu'en presentant leur req^{te}, un *chevalier de l'ordre des principaulx* du conseil de son alteze eust à dire, 'Madame, ne craignez rien se sont Gueulx et gens de petit pouvoir, et de faiet les dits gentilshommes de la ligue s'entre appellerent ordinairement les gueulx.'" Compare Strada, Hoofd, ubi sup.

humor of Brederode was hailed with deafening shouts of applause. The count then threw the wallet around the neck of his nearest neighbor, and handed him the wooden bowl. Each guest in turn donned the mendicant's knapsack. Pushing aside his golden goblet, each filled the beggars' bowl to the brim, and drained it to the beggars' health. Roars of laughter, and shouts of "Vivent les gueux!" shook the walls of the stately mansion as they were doomed never to shake again. The shibboleth was invented. The conjuration which they had been anxiously seeking was found. Their enemies had provided them with a spell which was to prove, in after days, potent enough to start a spirit from palace or hovel, forest or wave, as the deeds of the "wild beggars," the "wood beggars," and the "beggars of the sea" taught Philip at last to understand the nation which he had driven to madness.

When the wallet and bowl had made the circuit of the table, they were suspended to a pillar in the hall. Each of the company in succession then threw some salt into his goblet, and, placing himself under these symbols of the brotherhood, repeated a jingling distich, produced impromptu for the occasion:

By this salt, by this bread, by this wallet we swear,
These beggars ne'er will change, though all the world should stare.¹

This ridiculous ceremony completed the rites by which the confederacy received its name; but the banquet was by no means terminated. The uproar became furious. The younger and more reckless nobles abandoned them-

¹ "Par le sel, par le pain, par la besache,
Les gueulx ne changeront quoy qu'on se fache."

Pontus Payen MS. Van der Haer.

selves to revelry which would have shamed heathen Saturnalia. They renewed to each other, every moment, their vociferous oaths of fidelity to the common cause, drained huge beakers to the beggars' health, turned their caps and doublets inside out, danced upon chairs and tables.¹ Several addressed each other as Lord Abbot or Reverend Prior of this or that religious institution, thus indicating the means by which some of them hoped to mend their broken fortunes.²

While the tumult was at its height, the Prince of Orange, with Counts Horn and Egmont, entered the apartment. They had been dining quietly with Mansfeld, who was confined to his house with an inflamed eye,³ and they were on their way to the council-chamber, where the sessions were now prolonged nightly to a late hour. Knowing that Hoogstraaten, somewhat against his will, had been induced to be present at the banquet, they had come round by the way of Culemburg House to induce him to retire.⁴ They were also disposed, if possible, to abridge the festivities which their influence would have been powerless to prevent.

These great nobles, as soon as they made their appearance, were surrounded by a crew of "beggars," maddened and dripping with their recent baptism of wine, who compelled them to drink a cup amid shouts of "*Vivent le roi et les gueux!*" The meaning of this cry they of course could not understand, for even those who had heard Berlaymont's contemptuous remarks might not remember the exact term which he had used,

¹ Van der Haer, 315.

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ *Procès du Comte de Hornes*, Foppens, i. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 160-162.

and certainly could not be aware of the importance to which it had just been elevated. As for Horn, he disliked and had long before quarreled with Brederode,¹ had prevented many persons from signing the Compromise, and, although a guest at that time of Orange, was in the habit of retiring to bed before supper,² to avoid the company of many who frequented the house. Yet his presence for a few moments, with the best intentions, at the conclusion of this famous banquet, was made one of the most deadly charges which were afterward drawn up against him by the crown. The three seigniors refused to be seated, and remained but for a moment, "the length of a Miserere," taking with them Hoogstraaten as they retired. They also prevailed upon the whole party to break up at the same time, so that their presence had served at least to put a conclusion to the disgraceful riot. When they arrived at the council-chamber they received the thanks of the duchess for what they had done.³

Such was the first movement made by the members of the Compromise. Was it strange that Orange should feel little affinity with such companions? Had he not reason to hesitate, if the sacred cause of civil and religious liberty could only be maintained by these defenders and with such assistance?

The "beggars" did not content themselves with the name alone of the time-honored fraternity of mendicants in which they had enrolled themselves. Immediately after the Culemburg banquet, a costume for the

¹ Van der Haer, 315, 316.

² "Ne bougea du liet quand l'on disnoit ou souppoit."—Procès de Hornes, Foppens, i. 163.

³ Foppens, Supplément, ubi sup.

confederacy was decided upon. These young gentlemen, discarding gold lace and velvet, thought it expedient to array themselves in doublets and hose of ashen gray, with short cloaks of the same color, all of the coarsest materials. They appeared in this guise in the streets, with common felt hats on their heads, and beggars' pouches and bowls at their sides. They caused also medals of lead and copper to be struck, bearing upon one side the head of Philip; upon the reverse, two hands clasped within a wallet, with the motto, "Faithful to the king, even to wearing the beggar's sack."¹ These badges they wore around their necks, or as buttons to their hats. As a further distinction they shaved their beards close, excepting the mustachios, which were left long and pendent in the Turkish fashion,² that custom, as it seemed, being an additional characteristic of mendicants.

Very soon after these events the nobles of the league dispersed from the capital to their various homes. Brederode rode out of Brussels at the head of a band of cavaliers, who saluted the concourse of applauding spectators with a discharge of their pistols. Forty-three gentlemen accompanied him to Antwerp, where he halted for a night.³ The duchess had already sent notice to the magistrates of that city of his intended visit, and warned them to have an eye upon his pro-

¹ Pontus Payen MS. *Pièces concernant, etc.*, MS. Compare Strada, Hoofd, Bentivoglio, Van der Haer, ubi sup.; *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 409.

² "Laissans en dessous les narines longues mourmerstacques à la turesquesque."—*Pièces concernant l'Hist. des P. B.*, etc., MS. Compare Strada, v. 189.

³ Strada, v. 19.

ceedings. The "great beggar,"¹ as Hoogstraaten called him, conducted himself, however, with as much propriety as could be expected. Four or five thousand of the inhabitants thronged about the hotel where he had taken up his quarters. He appeared at a window with his wooden bowl, filled with wine, in his hands, and his wallet at his side. He assured the multitude that he was ready to die to defend the good people of Antwerp and of all the Netherlands against the edicts and the Inquisition. Meantime he drank their healths, and begged all who accepted the pledge to hold up their hands. The populace, highly amused, held up and clapped their hands as honest Brederode drained his bowl, and were soon afterward persuaded to retire in great good humor.²

These proceedings were all chronicled and transmitted to Madrid. It was also both publicly reported and secretly registered that Brederode had eaten capons and other meat at Antwerp upon Good Friday, which happened to be the day of his visit to that city. He denied the charge, however, with ludicrous vehemence. "They who have told madame that we ate meat in Antwerp," he wrote to Count Louis, "have lied wickedly and miserably, twenty-four feet down in their throats."³ He added that his nephew, Charles Mansfeld, who, notwithstanding the indignant prohibition of his father, had assisted at the presentation of the Request, and was then in his uncle's company at Antwerp, had ordered a capon, which Brederode had countermanded.

¹ "Le grant geu."—Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 184.

² Strada, v. 191.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 410, 411. Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 98, 99.

"They told me afterward," said he, "that my nephew had broiled a sausage in his chamber. I suppose that he thought himself in Spain, where they allow themselves such dainties."¹

Let it not be thought that these trifles are beneath the dignity of history. Matters like these filled the whole soul of Philip, swelled the bills of indictment for thousands of higher and better men than Brederode, and furnished occupation as well for secret correspondents and spies as for the most dignified functionaries of government. Capons or sausages on Good Friday, the psalms of Clement Marot, the Sermon on the Mount in the vernacular, led to the rack, the gibbet, and the stake, but ushered in a war against the Inquisition which was to last for eighty years. Brederode was not to be the hero of that party which he disgraced by his buffoonery. Had he lived, he might, perhaps, like many of his confederates, have redeemed by his bravery in the field a character which his orgies had rendered despicable. He now left Antwerp for the north of Holland, where, as he soon afterward reported to Count Louis, "the beggars were as numerous as the sands on the sea-shore."²

His "nephew Charles," two months afterward, obeyed his father's injunction, and withdrew formally from the confederacy.³

Meantime the rumor had gone abroad that the Request of the nobles had already produced good fruit—that the edicts were to be mitigated, the Inquisition

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 410, 411.

² "Les gens sont par icy semé comme la sable du lon de la mer."—Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., 130.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 421.

abolished, liberty of conscience eventually to prevail. "Upon these reports," says a contemporary, "all the vermin of exiles and fugitives for religion, as well as those who had kept in concealment, began to lift up their heads and thrust forth their horns."¹ It was known that Margaret of Parma had ordered the inquisitors and magistrates to conduct themselves "modestly and discreetly." It was known that the privy council was hard at work upon the project for "moderating" the edicts. Modestly and discreetly, Margaret of Parma, almost immediately after giving these orders, and while the "Moderation" was still in the hands of the lawyers, informed her brother that she had given personal attention to the case of a person who had snatched the holy wafer from the priest's hand at Oudenarde. This "quidam," as she called him,—for his name was beneath the cognizance of an emperor's bastard daughter,—had by her orders received rigorous and exemplary justice.² And what was the "rigorous and exemplary justice" thus inflicted upon the "quidam"? The procurator of the neighboring city of Tournay has enabled us to answer. The young man, who was a tapestry-weaver, Hans Tiskaen by name,³ had, upon the 30th May, thrown the holy wafer upon the ground. For this crime, which was the same as that committed on Christmas day of a previous year by Bertrand Le Blas at Tournay, he now met with a similar although not quite

¹ Renom de France MS.

² "Si comme ayant commandé que la justice se faiet d'un quidam à Audenaerde, qui ces jours ayant prinse la saincte hostie consacrée hors des mains du prestre, l'a jectée par terre, duquel s'est faiet rigoureuse et exemplaire justice."—Reiffenberg, Correspondance Marg. d'Autr., 45.

³ Bor, ii. 62.

so severe a punishment. Having gone quietly home after doing the deed, he was pursued, arrested, and upon the Saturday ensuing taken to the market-place of Oudenarde. Here the right hand with which he had committed the offense was cut off, and he was then fastened to the stake and burned to death over a slow fire. He was fortunately not more than a quarter of an hour in torment, but he persisted in his opinions, and called on God for support to his last breath.¹

This homely tragedy was enacted at Oudenarde, the birthplace of Duchess Margaret. She was the daughter of the puissant Charles V., but her mother was only the daughter of a citizen of Oudenarde—of a “quidam” like the nameless weaver who had thus been burned by her express order. It was not to be supposed, however, that the circumstance could operate in so great a malefactor’s favor. Moreover, at the same moment, she sent orders that a like punishment should be inflicted upon another person, then in a Flemish prison, for the crime of Anabaptism.²

The privy council, assisted by thirteen Knights of the Fleece, had been hard at work, and the result of their wisdom was at last revealed in a “Moderation” consisting of fifty-three articles.³

What, now, was the substance of those fifty-three articles, so painfully elaborated by Viglius, so handsomely drawn up into shape by Councilor d’Assonleville? Simply to substitute the halter for the fagot. After elimination of all verbiage, this fact was the only

¹ Pasquier de la Barre, Recoeil, etc., MS. in the Brussels Archives, f. 16^{vo}.

² Reiffenberg, Correspondance, 45.

³ Ep. ad Hopperum, 459.

residuum.¹ It was most distinctly laid down that all forms of religion except the Roman Catholic were forbidden; that no public or secret conventicles were to be allowed; that all heretical writings were to be suppressed; that all curious inquiries into the Scriptures were to be prohibited. Persons who infringed these regulations were divided into two classes—the misleaders and the misled. There was an affectation of granting mercy to persons in the second category, while death was denounced upon those composing the first. It was merely an affectation, for the rambling statute was so open in all its clauses that the Juggernaut car of persecution could be driven through the whole of them whenever such a course should seem expedient. Every man or woman in the Netherlands might be placed in the list of the misleaders, at the discretion of the officials. The pretended mercy to the misguided was a mere delusion. The superintendents, preachers, teachers, ministers, sermon-makers, deacons, and other officers were to be executed with the halter, with confiscation of their whole property. So much was very plain. *Other* heretics, however, who would abjure their heresy before the bishop might be pardoned for the first offense, but if obstinate were to be banished. This seemed an indication of mercy, at least to the repentant criminals. But who were these “*other*” heretics? All persons who discussed religious matters were to be put to death. All persons, not having studied theology at a “renowned university,” who searched and expounded the Scriptures were to be put to death. All persons in whose houses *any act* of the perverse religion should be

¹ See the text of the proposed “Moderation” in fifty-three articles, in Bor, i. f. 64, 65, 66.

committed were to be put to death. All persons who harbored or protected ministers and teachers of any sect were to be put to death. All the criminals thus carefully enumerated were to be executed, whether repentant or not. If, however, they abjured their errors, they were to be beheaded instead of being strangled. Thus it was obvious that almost any heretic might be brought to the halter at a moment's notice.

Strictly speaking, the idea of death by the halter or the ax was less shocking to the imagination than that of being burned or buried alive. In this respect, therefore, the edicts were softened by the proposed "Moderation." It would, however, always be difficult to persuade any considerable number of intelligent persons that the infliction of a violent death, by whatever process, on account of religious opinions, was an act of clemency. The Netherlanders were, however, to be persuaded into this belief. The draft of the new edict was ostentatiously called the "Moderatie," or the "Moderation." It was very natural, therefore, that the common people, by a quibble, which is the same in Flemish as in English, should call the proposed "Moderation" the "Murderation."¹ The rough mother-wit of the people had already characterized and annihilated the project while dull formalists were carrying it through the preliminary stages.

A vote in favor of the project having been obtained from the estates of Artois, Hainault, and Flanders, the instructions for the envoys, Baron Montigny and Marquis Berghen, were made out in conformity to the scheme.² Egmont had declined the mission,³ not having

¹ Meteren, ii. 38. Hoofd, iii. 81.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 412.

³ Ibid., i. 407.

reason to congratulate himself upon the diplomatic success of his visit to Spain in the preceding year. The two nobles who consented to undertake the office were persuaded into acceptance sorely against their will. They were aware that their political conduct since the king's departure from the country had not always been deemed satisfactory at Madrid, but they were, of course, far from suspecting the true state of the royal mind. They were both as sincere Catholics and as loyal gentlemen as Granvelle, but they were not aware how continuously, during a long course of years, that personage had represented them to Philip as renegades and rebels. They had maintained the constitutional rights of the state, and they had declined to act as executioners for the Inquisition, but they were yet to learn that such demonstrations amounted to high treason.

Montigny departed on the 29th May from Brussels.¹ He left the bride to whom he had been wedded, amid scenes of festivity, the preceding autumn; the unborn child who was never to behold its father's face. He received warnings in Paris, by which he scorned to profit. The Spanish ambassador in that city informed him that Philip's wrath at the recent transactions in the Netherlands was high. He was most significantly requested, by a leading personage in France, to feign illness, or to take refuge in any expedient by which he might avoid the fulfilment of his mission.² Such hints had no effect in turning him from his course, and he proceeded to Madrid, where he arrived on the 17th of June.³

His colleague in the mission, Marquis Berghen, had

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 418.

² Hoofd, iii. 80.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 426.

been prevented from setting forth at the same time by an accident which, under the circumstances, might almost seem ominous. Walking through the palace park, in a place where some gentlemen were playing at pall-mall, he was accidentally struck in the leg by a wooden ball.¹ The injury, although trifling, produced so much irritation and fever that he was confined to his bed for several weeks. It was not until the 1st of July² that he was able to take his departure from Brussels. Both these unfortunate nobles thus went forth to fulfil that dark and mysterious destiny from which the veil of three centuries has but recently been removed.

Besides a long historical discourse, in eighteen chapters, delivered by way of instruction to the envoys, Margaret sent a courier beforehand with a variety of intelligence concerning the late events. Alonzo del Canto, one of Philip's spies in the Netherlands, also wrote to inform the king that the two ambassadors were the real authors of all the troubles then existing in the country.³ Cardinal Granvelle, too, renewed his previous statements in a confidential communication to his Majesty, adding that no persons more appropriate could have been selected than Berghen and Montigny, for they knew better than any one else the state of affairs in which they had borne the principal part.⁴ Nevertheless, Montigny, upon his arrival in Madrid on the 17th of June, was received by Philip with much apparent cordiality, admitted immediately to an audience,⁵

¹ *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 412. *Hoofd*, ii. 80. *Strada*, v. 195.

² *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 428, 429.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 410, 411.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 417.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 426. Hopper (78, 79) states that the envoys were indulged with almost daily interviews.

and assured in the strongest terms that there was no dissatisfaction in the royal mind against the seigniors, whatever false reports might be circulated to that effect. In other respects the result of this and of his succeeding interviews with the monarch was sufficiently meager.

It could not well be otherwise. The mission of the envoys was an elaborate farce to introduce a terrible tragedy. They were sent to procure from Philip the abolition of the Inquisition and the moderation of the edicts. At the very moment, however, of all these legislative and diplomatic arrangements, Margaret of Parma was in possession of secret letters from Philip, which she was charged to deliver to the Archbishop of Sorrento, papal nuncio at the imperial court, then on a special visit to Brussels. This ecclesiastic had come to the Netherlands ostensibly to confer with the Prince of Orange upon the affairs of his principality, to remonstrate with Count Culemburg, and to take measures for the reformation of the clergy. The real object of his mission, however, was to devise means for strengthening the Inquisition and suppressing heresy in the provinces. Philip, at whose request he had come, had charged him by no means to divulge the secret, as the king was anxious to have it believed that the ostensible was the only business which the prelate had to perform in the country. Margaret accordingly delivered to him the private letters in which Philip avowed his determination to maintain the *Inquisition and the edicts in all their rigor*, but enjoined profound secrecy upon the subject.¹ The duchess, therefore, who knew the face of the cards, must have thought it a superfluous task to

¹ Reiffenberg, *Correspondance de Marg. d'Autr.*, 58-61. *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 422.

continue the game, which to Philip's cruel but procrastinating temperament was perhaps a pleasurable excitement.

The scheme for mitigating the edicts by the substitution of strangling for burning was not destined, therefore, for much success either in Spain or in the provinces; but the people by whom the next great movement was made in the drama of the revolt conducted themselves in a manner to shame the sovereign who oppressed, and the riotous nobles who had undertaken to protect, their liberties.

At this very moment, in the early summer of 1566, many thousands of burghers, merchants, peasants, and gentlemen were seen mustering and marching through the fields of every province, armed with harquebus, javelin, pike, and broadsword. For what purpose were these gatherings? Only to hear sermons and to sing hymns in the open air, as it was unlawful to profane the churches with such rites. This was the first great popular phase of the Netherland rebellion. Notwithstanding the edicts and the Inquisition with their daily hecatombs, notwithstanding the special publication at this time throughout the country by the duchess regent that all the sanguinary statutes concerning religion were in as great vigor as ever,¹ notwithstanding that Margaret offered a reward of seven hundred crowns to the man who would bring her a preacher dead or alive,² the popular thirst for the exercises of the Reformed religion could no longer be slaked at the obscure and hidden fountains where their priests had so long privately ministered.

¹ Pontus Payen MS. Pasquier de la Barre MS.

² Pontus Payen MS.

Partly emboldened by a temporary lull in the persecution, partly encouraged by the presentation of the Request and by the events to which it had given rise, the reformers now came boldly forth from their lurking-places and held their religious meetings in the light of day. The consciousness of numbers and of right had brought the conviction of strength. The audacity of the reformers was wonderful to the mind of President Viglius, who could find no language strong enough with which to characterize and to deplore such blasphemous conduct.¹ The field-preaching seemed in the eyes of government to spread with the rapidity of a malignant pestilence. The miasma flew upon the wings of the wind. As early as 1562 there had been public preaching in the neighborhood of Ypres. The executions which followed, however, had for the time suppressed the practice both in that place as well as throughout Flanders and the rest of the provinces. It now broke forth as by one impulse from one end of the country to the other. In the latter part of June, Hermann Strycker, or Modet, a monk who had renounced his vows to become one of the most popular preachers in the Reformed Church, addressed a congregation of seven or eight thousand persons in the neighborhood of Ghent.² Peter Dathenus, another unfrocked monk, preached at various places in West Flanders with great effect. A man endowed with a violent, stormy eloquence, intemperate as most zealots, he was then rendering better services to the cause of the Reformation than he was destined to do at later periods.

But apostate priests were not the only preachers. To

¹ Ep. ad Joach. Hopperum, 362.

² Brandt, 304, 305.

the ineffable disgust of the conservatives in church and state, there were men with little education, utterly devoid of Hebrew, of lowly station,—hatters, curriers, tanners, dyers, and the like,—who began to preach also; remembering, unseasonably perhaps, that the early disciples selected by the Founder of Christianity had not all been doctors of theology, with diplomas from a “renowned university.” But if the nature of such men were subdued to what it worked in, that charge could not be brought against ministers with the learning and accomplishments of Ambrose Wille, Marnier, Guy de Bray, or Francis Junius, the man whom Scaliger called the “greatest of all theologians since the days of the apostles.”¹ An aristocratic sarcasm could not be leveled against Peregrine de la Grange, of a noble family in Provence, with the fiery blood of southern France in his veins, brave as his nation, learned, eloquent, enthusiastic, who galloped to his field-preaching on horseback, and fired a pistol-shot as a signal for his congregation to give attention.²

On the 28th of June, 1566, at eleven o’clock at night, there was an assemblage of six thousand people near Tournay, at the bridge of Ernonville, to hear a sermon from Ambrose Wille, a man who had studied theology in Geneva at the feet of Calvin, and who now, with a special price upon his head,³ was preaching the doctrines he had learned. Two days afterward ten thousand people assembled at the same spot to hear Peregrine de la Grange. Governor Moulbais thundered forth a proclamation from the citadel, warning all men that the

¹ Bakhuyzen v. d. Brink, *Het Huwelijk*, 110.

² Bakhuyzen, 127. De la Barre MS., f. 16.

³ De la Barre MS., f. 18.

edicts were as rigorous as ever, and that every man, woman, or child who went to these preachings was incurring the penalty of death.¹ The people became only the more ardent and excited. Upon Sunday, the 7th of July, twenty thousand persons assembled at the same bridge to hear Ambrose Wille. One man in three was armed. Some had harquebuses, others pistols, pikes, swords, pitchforks, poniards, clubs. The preacher, for whose apprehension a fresh reward had been offered, was escorted to his pulpit by a hundred mounted troopers. He begged his audience not to be scared from the Word of God by menace; assured them that, although but a poor preacher himself, he held a divine commission; that he had no fear of death; that, should he fall, there were many better than he to supply his place, and fifty thousand men to avenge his murder.²

The duchess sent forth proclamations by hundreds. She ordered the instant suppression of these armed assemblies and the arrest of the preachers. But of what avail were proclamations against such numbers with weapons in their hands? Why irritate to madness these hordes of enthusiasts, who were now entirely pacific, and who marched back to the city, after conclusion of divine service, with perfect decorum? All classes of the population went eagerly to the sermons. The gentry of the place, the rich merchants, the notables, as well as the humbler artisans and laborers, all had received the infection. The professors of the Reformed religion outnumbered the Catholics by five or six to one. On Sundays and other holidays, during the hours of service, Tournay was literally emptied of its

¹ De la Barre MS.

² Ibid.

inhabitants. The streets were as silent as if war or pestilence had swept the place. The duchess sent orders, but she sent no troops. The trained bands of the city, the crossbowmen of St. Maurice, the archers of St. Sebastian, the sword-players of St. Christopher, could not be ordered from Tournay to suppress the preaching, for they had all gone to the preaching themselves. How idle, therefore, to send peremptory orders without a matchlock to enforce the command! ¹

Throughout Flanders similar scenes were enacted. The meetings were encampments, for the reformers now came to their religious services armed to the teeth, determined, if banished from the churches, to defend their right to the fields. Barricades of upturned wagons, branches, and planks were thrown up around the camps. Strong guards of mounted men were stationed at every avenue. Outlying scouts gave notice of approaching danger, and guided the faithful into the inclosure. Peddlers and hawkers plied the trade upon which the penalty of death was fixed, and sold the forbidden hymn-books to all who chose to purchase.² A strange and contradictory spectacle! An army of criminals doing deeds which could only be expiated at the stake; an intrenched rebellion, bearding the government with pike, matchlock, javelin, and barricade, and all for no more deadly purpose than to listen to the precepts of the pacific Jesus.

Thus the preaching spread through the Walloon provinces to the northern Netherlands. Toward the end of July an apostate monk, of singular eloquence, Peter Gabriel by name, was announced to preach at Overveen,

¹ De la Barre MS.

² Brandt, i. 305. *Nie. Burgund., Hist. Belg.,* iii. 213.

near Haarlem.¹ This was the first field-meeting which had taken place in Holland. The people were wild with enthusiasm, the authorities beside themselves with apprehension. People from the country flocked into the town by thousands. The other cities were deserted; Haarlem was filled to overflowing. Multitudes encamped upon the ground the night before. The magistrates ordered the gates to be kept closed in the morning till long after the usual hour. It was of no avail. Bolts and bars were but small impediments to enthusiasts who had traveled so many miles on foot or horseback to listen to a sermon. They climbed the walls, swam the moat, and thronged to the place of meeting long before the doors had been opened. When these could no longer be kept closed without a conflict, for which the magistrates were not prepared, the whole population poured out of the city with a single impulse.² Tens of thousands were assembled upon the field. The bulwarks were erected as usual, the guards were posted, the necessary precautions taken. But upon this occasion and in that region there was but little danger to be apprehended. The multitude of reformers made the edicts impossible, so long as no foreign troops were there to enforce them. The congregation was encamped and arranged in an orderly manner. The women, of whom there were many, were placed next the pulpit, which, upon this occasion, was formed of a couple of spears thrust into the earth, sustaining a cross-piece, against which the preacher might lean his back. The services commenced with the singing of a psalm by the whole vast assemblage. Clement Marot's verses, recently

¹ Brandt, 320, 321. *Memorien van Laurens Jacq. Reael*, f. 20, 21, 22, apud Brandt.

² Ibid.

translated by Dathenus, were then new and popular. The strains of the monarch minstrel, chanted thus in their homely but nervous mother-tongue by a multitude who had but recently learned that all the poetry and rapture of devotion were not irrevocably confined with a buried language or immured in the precincts of a church, had never produced a more elevating effect. No anthem from the world-renowned organ in that ancient city ever awakened more lofty emotions than did those ten thousand human voices ringing from the grassy meadows in that fervid midsummer noon. When all was silent again, the preacher rose—a little, meager man, who looked as if he might rather melt away beneath the blazing sunshine of July than hold the multitude enchained four uninterrupted hours long by the magic of his tongue. His text was the eighth, ninth, and tenth verses of the second chapter of Ephesians; and as the slender monk spoke to his simple audience of God's grace, and of faith in Jesus, who had descended from above to save the lowliest and the most abandoned, if they would put their trust in him, his hearers were alternately exalted with fervor or melted into tears. He prayed for all conditions of men—for themselves, their friends, their enemies, for the government which had persecuted them, for the king whose face was turned upon them in anger. At times, according to one who was present, not a dry eye was to be seen in the crowd. When the minister had finished, he left his congregation abruptly, for he had to travel all night in order to reach Alkmaar, where he was to preach upon the following day.¹

Brandt, 320, 321. *Memorien van Laurens Jacq. Reael*, f. 20, 21, 22, apud Brandt.

By the middle of July the custom was established outside all the principal cities. Camp-meetings were held in some places, as, for instance, in the neighborhood of Antwerp, where the congregations numbered often fifteen thousand,¹ and on some occasions were estimated at between twenty and thirty thousand persons at a time; "very many of them," said an eye-witness, "the best and wealthiest in the town."¹

✦ The sect to which most of these worshipers belonged was that of Calvin. In Antwerp there were Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists. The Lutherans were the richest sect,³ but the Calvinists the most numerous and enthusiastic. The Prince of Orange at this moment was strenuously opposed both to Calvinism and Anabaptism, but inclining to Lutheranism.⁴ Political reasons at this epoch doubtless influenced his mind in religious matters. The aid of the Lutheran princes of Germany, who detested the doctrines of Geneva, could hardly be relied upon for the Netherlanders unless they would adopt the Confession of Augsburg. The prince knew that the emperor, although inclined to the Reformation, was bitterly averse to Calvinism, and he

¹ Reiffenberg, *Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche*, 84.

² Letter of Clough, in *Burton*, ii. 135.

³ There were, however, but two Lutheran churches in all the Netherlands, according to the statement of the Prince of Orange. Both were in Antwerp. "Es ist aber zu erbarmen das der Calvinismus so weitt einreisset und die Augsburgische Confession überwachsett, das in allen diesen landen seint nur zwo kirchen der Augsburgischen Confession und die werden in dieser stadt Antorff erhalten. Der andere hauff ist durchaus Calvinisch."—Letter from W. of Orange to Elector Augustus, 1st September, 1566, MS. Dresden Archives.

⁴ Groen v. Prinst., *Archives*, etc., ii. 137.

was therefore desirous of healing the schism which existed in the general Reformed Church. To accomplish this, however, would be to gain a greater victory over the bigotry which was the prevailing characteristic of the age than perhaps could be expected. The prince, from the first moment of his abandoning the ancient doctrines, was disposed to make the attempt.¹

The duchess ordered the magistrates of Antwerp to put down these mass-meetings by means of the gild militia. They replied that at an earlier day such a course might have been practicable, but that the sects had become quite too numerous for coercion. If the authorities were able to prevent the exercises of the Reformed religion within the city, it would be as successful a result as could be expected. To prevent the preaching outside the walls, by means of the burgher force, was an utter impossibility.² The dilatoriness of the sovereign placed the regent in a frightful dilemma, but it was sufficiently obvious that the struggle could not long be deferred. "There will soon be a hard nut to crack," wrote Count Louis. "The king will never grant the preaching; the people will never give it up, if it cost them their necks. There's a hard puff coming upon the country before long."³ The duchess was not yet authorized to levy troops, and she feared that if she commenced such operations she should perhaps offend the king, while she at the same time might provoke the people into more effective military preparations than her own.⁴

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 454, 455, 473, 480, 489, sqq.

² Bor, ii. 69, 70.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 208.

⁴ "Aussi si je lieve gens pour la garde et déffence de ce dit pays, l'on en treuve plusieurs au contraire qui les retiennent en

She felt that for one company levied by her the sectaries could raise ten. Moreover, she was entirely without money, even if she should otherwise think it expedient to enroll an army. Meantime she did what she could with "public prayers, processions, fasts, sermons, exhortations," and other ecclesiastical machinery which she ordered the bishops to put in motion.¹ Her situation was indeed sufficiently alarming.

Egmont, whom many of the sectaries hoped to secure as their leader in case of a civil war,² showed no disposition to encourage such hopes, but as little to take up arms against the people. He went to Flanders, where the armed assemblages for field-preaching had become so numerous that a force of thirty or forty thousand men might be set on foot almost at a moment's warning, and where the conservatives, in a state of alarm, desired the presence of their renowned governor.³ The people of Antwerp, on their part, demanded William of Orange. The prince, who was hereditary burgrave of the city, had at first declined the invitation of the magistracy. The duchess united her request with the universal prayer of the inhabitants. Events meantime had been thickening, and suspicion increasing. Meghen had been in the city for several days, much to the disgust of the reformers, by whom he was hated. Aremberg was expected to join him, and it was rumored that measures

leur donnant plus grande souldé."—Unpublished letter of Margaret of Parma to Philippe II., in the *Correspondance de Philippe II. avec la Duchesse de Parme*, 1566-67, No. 104, MS. Archives du Royaume. *Papiers d'État*.

¹ *Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche*, 122.

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ *Correspondance de M. d'Autriche*, 136.

were secretly in progress, under the auspices of these two leading cardinalists, for introducing a garrison, together with great store of ammunition, into the city. On the other hand, the "great beggar," Brederode, had taken up his quarters also in Antwerp, had been daily entertaining a crowd of roistering nobles at his hotel, previously to a second political demonstration, which will soon be described, and was constantly parading the street, followed by a swarm of adherents in the beggar livery. The sincere reformers were made nearly as uncomfortable by the presence of their avowed friends as by that of Meghen and Aremberg, and earnestly desired to be rid of them all. Long and anxious were the ponderings of the magistrates upon all these subjects. It was determined at last to send a fresh deputation to Brussels, requesting the regent to order the departure of Meghen, Aremberg, and Brederode from Antwerp; remonstrating with her against any plan she might be supposed to entertain of sending mercenary troops into the city; pledging the word of the senate to keep the peace, meanwhile, by their regular force; and, above all, imploring her once more, in the most urgent terms, to send thither the burgrave, as the only man who was capable of saving the city from the calamities into which it was so likely to fall.¹

The Prince of Orange being thus urgently besought, both by the government of Antwerp, the inhabitants of that city, and by the regent herself,² at last consented to make the visit so earnestly demanded. On the 13th July he arrived in Antwerp.³ The whole city was alive

¹ Bor, ii. 73, 74. Meteren, ii. 39^b.

² Hopper, 81.

³ Strada, v. 202. Hoofd, ii. 87. Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 87. Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., 136, 137.

with enthusiasm. Half its population seemed to have come forth from the gates to bid him welcome, lining the road for miles. The gate through which he was to pass, the ramparts, the roofs of the houses, were packed close with expectant and eager faces. At least thirty thousand persons had assembled to welcome their guest. A long cavalcade of eminent citizens had come as far as Berghen to meet him and to escort him into the city. Brederode, attended by some of the noble confederates, rode at the head of the procession. As they encountered the prince, a discharge of pistol-shots was fired by way of salute, which was the signal for a deafening shout from the assembled multitude. The crowd thronged about the prince as he advanced, calling him their preserver, their father, their only hope. Wild shouts of welcome rose upon every side, as he rode through the town, mingled with occasional vociferations of "Long life to the beggars!" These party cries were instantly and sharply rebuked by Orange, who expressed, in Brederode's presence, the determination that he would make men unlearn that mischievous watch-word.¹ He had, moreover, little relish at that time for the tumultuous demonstrations of attachment to his person, which were too fervid to be censured, but too unseasonable to be approved. When the crowd had at last been made to understand that their huzzas were distasteful to the prince, most of the multitude consented to disperse, feeling, however, a relief from impending danger in the presence of the man to whom they instinctively looked as their natural protector.

The senators had come forth in a body to receive the

¹ Bor, ii. 76. Strada, v. 203. Hopper (91) is no less explicit: "des quelles le prince se monstroït fort fâché et malcontent."

burgrave and escort him to the hotel prepared for him. Arrived there, he lost no time in opening the business which had brought him to Antwerp. He held at once a long consultation with the upper branch of the government. Afterward, day after day, he honestly, arduously, sagaciously labored to restore the public tranquillity. He held repeated deliberations with every separate portion of the little commonwealth—the senate, the council of ancients, the corporation of ward-masters, the deans of trades. Nor did he confine his communication to these organized political bodies alone. He had frequent interviews with the officers of the military associations, with the foreign merchant companies, with the guilds of “rhetoric.”¹ The chambers of the “Violet” and the “Marigold” were not too frivolous or fantastic to be consulted by one who knew human nature and the constitution of Netherland society so well as did the prince. Night and day he labored with all classes of citizens to bring about a better understanding and to establish mutual confidence. At last by his efforts tranquillity was restored. The broad council having been assembled, it was decided that the exercise of the Reformed religion should be excluded from the city, but silently tolerated in the suburbs, while an armed force was to be kept constantly in readiness to suppress all attempts at insurrection. The prince had desired that twelve hundred men should be enlisted and paid by the city, so that at least a small number of disciplined troops might be ready at a moment's warning; but he found it impossible to carry the point with the council. The magistrates were willing to hold themselves responsible for the peace of the city, but they would have no mercenaries.²

¹ Bor, ii. 76. Hoofd, ii. 88. ² Bor, ii. 77. Hoofd, iii. 88, 89.

Thus, during the remainder of July and the early part of August, was William of Orange strenuously occupied in doing what should have been the regent's work. He was still regarded both by the duchess and by the Calvinist party—although having the sympathies of neither—as the only man in the Netherlands who could control the rising tide of a national revolt. He took care, said his enemies, that his conduct at Antwerp should have every appearance of loyalty;¹ but they insinuated that he was a traitor from the beginning, who was insidiously fomenting the troubles which he appeared to rebuke. No one doubted his genius, and all felt or affected admiration at its display upon this critical occasion. “The Prince of Orange is doing very great and notable services at Antwerp to the king and to the country,” said Assonleville. “That seignior is very skilful in managing great affairs.”² Margaret of Parma wrote letters to him filled with the warmest gratitude, expressions of approbation, and of wishes that he could both remain in Antwerp and return to assist her in Brussels.³ Philip, too, with his own pen, addressed him a letter, in which implicit confidence in the prince's character was avowed, all suspicion on the part of the sovereign indignantly repudiated, earnest thanks for his acceptance of the Antwerp mission uttered, and a distinct refusal given to the earnest request made by Orange to resign his offices.⁴ The prince read or listened to all this commendation, and valued it exactly at its proper worth. He knew it to be pure grimace. He was no

¹ Bentivoglio, ii. 37.

² Foppens, Supplément, ii. 364.

³ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 148, 149, 164–166.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 170, 171.

more deceived by it than if he had read the letter sent by Margaret to Philip, a few weeks later, in which she expressed herself as "thoroughly aware that it was the intention of Orange to take advantage of the impending tumults for the purpose of conquering the provinces and of dividing the whole territory among himself and friends."¹ Nothing could be more utterly false than so vile and ridiculous a statement.

The course of the prince had hitherto been, and was still, both consistent and loyal. He was proceeding step by step to place the monarch in the wrong, but the only art which he was using was to plant himself more firmly upon the right. It was in the monarch's power to convoke the assembly of the States-General, so loudly demanded by the whole nation, to abolish the Inquisition, to renounce persecution, to accept the great fact of the Reformation. To do so he must have ceased to be Philip. To have faltered in attempting to bring him into that path, the prince must have ceased to be William of Orange. Had he succeeded, there would have been no treason and no Republic of Holland. His conduct at the outbreak of the Antwerp troubles was firm and sagacious. Even had his duty required him to put down the public preaching with peremptory violence, he had been furnished with no means to accomplish the purpose. The rebellion, if it were one, was already full-grown. It could not be taken by the throat and strangled with one hand, however firm.

A report that the high sheriff of Brabant was collecting troops by command of government, in order to attack the reformers at their field-preachings, went far to undo the work already accomplished by the

¹ Strada, v. 207.

prince.¹ The assemblage swelled again from ten or twelve thousand to twenty-five thousand, the men all providing themselves more thoroughly with weapons than before. Soon afterward the intemperate zeal of another individual, armed to the teeth,—not, however, like the martial sheriff and his forces, with harquebus and javelin, but with the still more deadly weapons of polemical theology,—was very near causing a general outbreak. A peaceful and not very numerous congregation were listening to one of their preachers in a field outside the town. Suddenly an unknown individual, in plain clothes and with a pragmatistical demeanor, interrupted the discourse by giving a flat contradiction to some of the doctrines advanced. The minister replied by a rebuke, and a reiteration of the disputed sentiment. The stranger, evidently versed in ecclesiastical matters, volubly and warmly responded. The preacher, a man of humble condition and moderate abilities, made as good show of argument as he could, but was evidently no match for his antagonist. He was soon vanquished in the wordy warfare. Well he might be, for it appeared that the stranger was no less a personage than Peter Rythovius, a doctor of divinity, a distinguished pedant of Louvain, a relation of a bishop and himself a church dignitary.² This learned professor, quite at home in his subject, was easily triumphant, while the poor dissenter, more accustomed to elevate the hearts of his hearers than to perplex their heads, sank prostrate and breathless under the storm of texts, glosses, and hard Hebrew roots with which he was soon overwhelmed.

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 182. Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 149, 150.

² Bor, ii. 81. Hoofd, iii. 89.

The professor's triumph was, however, but short-lived, for the simple-minded congregation, who loved their teacher, were enraged that he should be thus confounded. Without more ado, therefore, they laid violent hands upon the Quixotic knight errant of the Church, and so cudgeled and belabored him bodily that he might perhaps have lost his life in the encounter had he not been protected by the more respectable portion of the assembly. These persons, highly disapproving the whole proceeding, forcibly rescued him from the assailants, and carried him off to town, where the news of the incident at once created an uproar. Here he was thrown into prison as a disturber of the peace, but in reality that he might be personally secure.¹ The next day the Prince of Orange, after administering to him a severe rebuke for his ill-timed exhibition of pedantry, released him from confinement, and had him conveyed out of the city. "This theologian," wrote the prince to Duchess Margaret, "would have done better, methinks, to stay at home, for I suppose he had no especial orders to perform this piece of work."²

Thus, so long as this great statesman could remain in the metropolis, his temperate firmness prevented the explosion which had so long been expected. His own government of Holland and Zealand, too, especially demanded his care. The field-preaching had spread in that region with prodigious rapidity. Armed assemblages, utterly beyond the power of the civil authorities, were taking place daily in the neighborhood of Amsterdam.³ Yet the duchess could not allow him to visit his

¹ Bor, Hoofd, ubi sup.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 181.

³ Hoofd, iii. 89, 90.

government in the north. If he could be spared from Antwerp for a day, it was necessary that he should aid her in a fresh complication with the confederated nobles. In the very midst, therefore, of his Antwerp labors, he had been obliged, by Margaret's orders, to meet a committee at Duffel.¹ For in this same eventful month of July a great meeting² was held by the members of the Compromise at St.-Trond, in the bishopric of Liège. They came together on the 13th of the month, and remained assembled till the beginning of August. It was a wild, tumultuous convention, numbering some fifteen hundred cavaliers, each with his esquires and armed attendants—a larger and more important gathering than had yet been held. Brederode and Count Louis were the chieftains of the assembly, which, as may be supposed from its composition and numbers, was likely to be neither very orderly in its demonstrations nor wholesome in its results. It was an ill-timed movement. The convention was too large for deliberation, too riotous to inspire confidence. The nobles quartered themselves everywhere in the taverns and the farm-houses of the neighborhood, while large numbers encamped upon the open fields. There was a constant din of revelry and uproar, mingled with wordy warfare, and an occasional crossing of swords. It seemed rather like a congress of ancient, savage Batavians, assembled in Teutonic fashion to choose a king amid hoarse shouting, deep drinking, and the clash of spear and shield, than a meeting for a lofty and earnest

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 148, 149.

² Bor, ii. 78–80. Hoofd, iii. 96–98. Strada, v. 203–206. Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 90–96.

purpose by their civilized descendants. A crowd of spectators, landlopers, mendicants, daily aggregated themselves to the aristocratic assembly, joining with natural unction in the incessant shout of "Vivent les gueux!" It was impossible that so soon after their baptism the self-styled beggars should repudiate all connection with the time-honored fraternity in which they had enrolled themselves.

The confederates discussed—if an exchange of vociferations could be called discussion—principally two points: whether, in case they obtained the original objects of their petition, they should pause or move still further onward; and whether they should insist upon receiving some pledge from the government that no vengeance should be taken upon them for their previous proceedings. Upon both questions there was much vehemence of argument and great difference of opinion. They, moreover, took two very rash and very grave resolutions—to guarantee the people against all violence on account of their creeds, and to engage a force of German soldiery, four thousand horse and forty companies of infantry, by *Wartgeld*, or retaining-wages.¹ It was evident that these gentlemen were disposed to go fast and far. If they had been ready in the spring to receive their baptism of wine, the "beggars" were now eager for the baptism of blood. At the same time it must be observed that the levies which they proposed, not to make, but to have at command, were purely for defense. In case the king, as it was thought probable, should visit the Netherlands with fire and sword,

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 159 sqq., 167 sqq., 179. Pontus Payen MS.

then there would be a nucleus of resistance already formed.

Upon the 18th July the Prince of Orange, at the earnest request of the regent, met a committee of the confederated nobles at Duffel. Count Egmont was associated with him in this duty. The conference was not very satisfactory. The deputies from St.-Trond, consisting of Brederode, Culemburg, and others, exchanged with the two seigniors the old arguments. It was urged upon the confederates that they had made themselves responsible for the public tranquillity so long as the regent should hold to her promise; that, as the duchess had sent two distinguished envoys to Madrid in order to accomplish, if possible, the wishes of the nobles, it was their duty to redeem their own pledges; that armed assemblages ought to be suppressed by their efforts rather than encouraged by their example; and that, if they now exerted themselves zealously to check the tumults, the duchess was ready to declare, in her own name and that of his Majesty, that the presentation of the Request had been beneficial.

The nobles replied that the pledges had become a farce, that the regent was playing them false, that persecution was as fierce as ever, that the "Moderation" was a mockery, that the letters recommending "modesty and discretion" to the inquisitors had been mere waste paper, that a price had been set upon the heads of the preachers as if they had been wild beasts, that there were constant threats of invasions from Spain, that the convocation of the States-General had been illegally deferred, that the people had been driven to despair, and that it was the conduct of government, not of the confederates, which had caused the reformers to throw

off previous restraint and to come boldly forth by tens of thousands into the fields, not to defy their king, but to worship their God.¹

Such, in brief, was the conference of Duffel. In conclusion, a paper was drawn up which Brederode carried back to the convention, and which it was proposed to submit to the duchess for her approval. At the end of the month Louis of Nassau was accordingly sent to Brussels, accompanied by twelve associates, who were familiarly called his twelve apostles.² Here he laid before her Highness in council a statement embodying the views of the confederates. In this paper they asserted that they were ever ready to mount and ride against a foreign foe, but that they would never draw a sword against their innocent countrymen. They maintained that their past conduct deserved commendation, and that in requiring letters of safe-conduct in the names both of the duchess and of the Fleece Knights they were governed not by a disposition to ask for pardon, but by a reluctance without such guaranties to enter into stipulations touching the public tranquillity. If, however, they should be assured that the intentions of the regent were amicable and that there was no design to take vengeance for the past; if, moreover, she

¹ Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 129 sqq. Archives et Correspondance (Gr. v. Prinst.), 167 sqq. Renom de France MS., i. 17. Bor, ii. 78-80. Hoofd, iii. 96-98. Compare Hopper, 90-96; Strada, v. 203-206; Bentivoglio, ii. 34, 35.

² Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 120 sqq., 141 sqq. The date appears to be the 30th of July, 1566. Vide Reiffenberg, Correspondance, ubi sup.; Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., 437. According to a letter of Count Louis, however (Archives et Correspondance, ii. 177-180), the Request would seem to have been presented upon the 26th of July (Strada, v. 205).

were willing to confide in the counsels of Horn, Egmont, and Orange, and to take no important measure without their concurrence; if, above all, she would convoke the States-General, then, and then only, were the confederates willing to exert their energies to preserve peace, to restrain popular impetuosity and banish universal despair.¹

So far Louis of Nassau and his twelve apostles. It must be confessed that, whatever might be thought of the justice, there could be but one opinion as to the boldness of these views. The duchess was furious. If the language held in April had been considered audacious, certainly this new request was, in her own words, "still more bitter to the taste and more difficult of digestion."² She therefore answered in a very unsatisfactory, haughty, and ambiguous manner, reserving decision upon their propositions till they had been discussed by the state council, and intimating that they would also be laid before the Knights of the Fleece, who were to hold a meeting upon the 26th of August.

There was some further conversation, without any result. D'Esquerdes complained that the confederates were the mark of constant calumny, and demanded that the slanderers should be confronted with them and punished. "I understand perfectly well," interrupted Margaret, "you wish to take justice into your own hands and to be king yourself."³ It was further intimated by these reckless gentlemen that if they should be driven by violence into measures of self-protection, they had already secured friends in a certain coun-

¹ Hopper, 94, 95. Hoofd, iii. 98. Strada, v. 205, 206.

² Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 142.

³ Renom de France MS., i. 18.

try.¹ The duchess, probably astonished at the frankness of this statement, is said to have demanded further explanations. The confederates replied by observing that they had resources both in the provinces and in Germany. The state council decided that to accept the propositions of the confederates would be to establish a triumvirate at once, and the duchess wrote to her brother distinctly advising against the acceptance of the proposal.² The assembly at St.-Trond was then dissolved, having made violent demonstrations, which were not followed by beneficial results, and having laid itself open to various suspicions, most of which were ill founded, while some of them were just.

Before giving the reader a brief account of the open and the secret policy pursued by the government at Brussels and Madrid in consequence of these transactions, it is now necessary to allude to a startling series of events which at this point added to the complications of the times and exercised a fatal influence upon the situation of the commonwealth.

¹ Le Petit, Grande Chronique de Hollande, 109^a, 114^b. Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 167, 168.

² Renom de France MS., i. 18. Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 142.

CHAPTER VII

Ecclesiastical architecture in the Netherlands—The image-breaking—Description of Antwerp Cathedral—Ceremony of the Ommegang—Precursory disturbances—Iconoclasts at Antwerp—Incidents of the image-breaking in various cities—Events at Tournay—Preaching of Wille—Disturbance by a little boy—Churches sacked at Tournay—Disinterment of Duke Adolphus of Guelders—Iconoclasts defeated and massacred at Anchin—Bartholomew's day at Valenciennes—General characteristics of the image-breaking—Testimony of contemporaries as to the honesty of the rioters—Consternation of the duchess—Projected flight to Mons—Advice of Horn and other seigniors—Accord of 23d August.

THE Netherlands possessed an extraordinary number of churches and monasteries. Their exquisite architecture and elaborate decoration had been the earliest indication of intellectual culture displayed in the country. In the vast number of cities, towns, and villages which were crowded upon that narrow territory, there had been, from circumstances operating throughout Christendom, a great accumulation of ecclesiastical wealth. The same causes can never exist again which at an early day covered the soil of Europe with those magnificent creations of Christian art. It was in these anonymous but entirely original achievements that Gothic genius, awaking from its long sleep of the dark ages, first expressed itself. The early poetry of the German races was hewn and chiseled in stone. Around the steadfast

principle of devotion, then so firmly rooted in the soil, clustered the graceful and vigorous emanations of the newly awakened mind. All that science could invent, all that art could embody, all that mechanical ingenuity could dare, all that wealth could lavish—whatever there was of human energy which was panting for pacific utterance, wherever there stirred the vital principle which instinctively strove to create and to adorn at an epoch when vulgar violence and destructiveness were the general tendencies of humanity, all gathered around these magnificent temples, as their aspiring pinnacles at last pierced the mist which had so long brooded over the world.

There were many hundreds of churches, more or less remarkable, in the Netherlands. Although a severe criticism might regret to find in these particular productions of the great Germanic school a development of that practical tendency which distinguished the Batavian and Flemish branches; although it might recognize a departure from that mystic principle which, in its efforts to symbolize the strivings of humanity toward the infinite object of worship above, had somewhat disregarded the wants of the worshipers below; although the spaces might be too wide and the intercolumniations too empty, except for the convenience of congregations, yet there were, nevertheless, many ecclesiastical masterpieces which could be regarded as very brilliant manifestations of the Batavian and Belgic mind during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Many were filled with paintings from a school which had precedence in time and merit over its sister nurseries of art in Germany. All were peopled with statues. All were filled with profusely adorned chapels, for the churches had

been enriched generation after generation by wealthy penitence, which had thus purchased absolution for crime and smoothed a pathway to heaven.

And now, for the space of only six or seven summer days and nights, there raged a storm by which all these treasures were destroyed. Nearly every one of these temples was entirely rifled of its contents; not for the purpose of plunder, but of destruction. Hardly a province or a town escaped. Art must forever weep over this bereavement; humanity must regret that the reforming is thus always ready to degenerate into the destructive principle; but it is impossible to censure very severely the spirit which prompted the brutal but not ferocious deed. Those statues, associated as they were with the remorseless persecution which had so long desolated the provinces, had ceased to be images. They had grown human and hateful, so that the people arose and devoted them to indiscriminate massacre.

No doubt the iconoclastic fury is to be regretted, for such treasures can scarcely be renewed. The age for building and decorating great cathedrals is past. Certainly our own age, practical and benevolent, if less poetical, should occupy itself with the present and project itself into the future. It should render glory to God rather by causing wealth to fertilize the lowest valleys of humanity than by rearing gorgeous temples where paupers are to kneel. To clothe the naked, redeem the criminal, feed the hungry, less by alms and homilies than by preventive institutions and beneficent legislation; above all, by the diffusion of national education, to lift a race upon a level of culture hardly attained by a class in earlier times, is as lofty a task as to accumulate piles of ecclesiastical splendor.

It would be tedious to recount in detail the events which characterized the remarkable image-breaking in the Netherlands. As Antwerp was the central point in these transactions, and as there was more wealth and magnificence in the great cathedral of that city than in any church of northern Europe, it is necessary to give a rapid outline of the events which occurred there. From its exhibition in that place the spirit everywhere will best be shown.

The Church of Our Lady, which Philip had so recently converted into a cathedral, dated from the year 1124, although it may be more fairly considered a work of the fourteenth century. Its college of canons had been founded in another locality by Godfrey of Bouillon. The Brabantine hero, who so romantically incarnated the religious poetry of his age, who first mounted the walls of redeemed Jerusalem and was its first Christian monarch, but who refused to accept a golden diadem on the spot where the Saviour had been crowned with thorns; the Fleming who lived and was the epic which the great Italian, centuries afterward, translated into immortal verse, is thus fitly associated with the beautiful architectural poem which was to grace his ancestral realms. The body of the church—the interior and graceful perspectives of which were not liable to the reproach brought against many Netherland churches of assimilating themselves already to the municipal palaces which they were to suggest—was completed in the fourteenth century. The beautiful façade, with its tower, was not completed till the year 1518. The exquisite and daring spire, the gigantic stem upon which the consummate flower of this architectural creation was to be at last unfolded, was a plant of a whole

century's growth. Rising to a height of nearly five hundred feet, over a church of as many feet in length, it worthily represented the upward tendency of Gothic architecture. Externally and internally the cathedral was a true expression of the Christian principle of devotion. Amid its vast accumulation of imagery, its endless ornaments, its multiplicity of episodes, its infinite variety of details, the central, maternal principle was ever visible. Everything pointed upward, from the spire in the clouds to the arch which enshrined the smallest sculptured saint in the chapels below. It was a sanctuary, not, like pagan temples, to inclose a visible deity, but an edifice where mortals might worship an unseen Being in the realms above.

The church, placed in the center of the city, with the noisy streets of the busiest metropolis in Europe eddying around its walls, was a sacred island in the tumultuous main. Through the perpetual twilight, tall columnar trunks in thick profusion grew from a floor checkered with prismatic lights and sepulchral shadows. Each shaft of the petrified forest rose to a preternatural height, their many branches intermingling in the space above to form an impenetrable canopy. Foliage, flowers, and fruit of colossal luxuriance, strange birds, beasts, griffins, and chimeras in endless multitudes, the rank vegetation and the fantastic zoölogy of a fresher or fabulous world, seemed to decorate and to animate the serried trunks and pendent branches, while the shattering symphonies or dying murmurs of the organ suggested the rushing of the wind through the forest—now the full diapason of the storm and now the gentle cadence of the evening breeze.

Internally the whole church was rich beyond expres-

sion. All that opulent devotion and inventive ingenuity could devise, in wood, bronze, marble, silver, gold, precious jewelry, or blazing sacramental furniture, had been profusely lavished. The penitential tears of centuries had incrusting the whole interior with their glittering stalactites. Divided into five naves, with external rows of chapels, but separated by no screens or partitions, the great temple forming an imposing whole, the effect was the more impressive, the vistas almost infinite in appearance. The wealthy citizens, the twenty-seven guilds, the six military associations, the rhythmical colleges, besides many other secular or religious sodalities, had each their own chapels and altars. Tombs adorned with the effigies of mailed crusaders and pious dames covered the floor; tattered banners hung in the air; the escutcheons of the Golden Fleece, an order typical of Flemish industry, but of which emperors and kings were proud to be the chevaliers, decorated the columns. The vast and beautifully painted windows glowed with scriptural scenes, antique portraits, homely allegories, painted in those brilliant and forgotten colors which art has not ceased to deplore. The daylight melting into gloom or colored with fantastic brilliancy, priests in effulgent robes chanting in unknown language, the sublime breathing of choral music, the suffocating odors of myrrh and spikenard, suggestive of the Oriental scenery and imagery of Holy Writ, all combined to bewilder and exalt the senses. The highest and humblest seemed to find themselves upon the same level within those sacred precincts, where even the blood-stained criminal was secure, and the arm of secular justice was paralyzed.

But the work of degeneration had commenced. The

atmosphere of the cathedral was no longer holy in the eyes of increasing multitudes. Better the sanguinary rites of Belgic Druids, better the yell of slaughtered victims from the "wild wood without mercy" of the pagan forefathers of the nation, than this fantastic intermingling of divine music, glowing colors, gorgeous ceremonies, with all the burning, beheading, and strangling work which had characterized the system of human sacrifice for the past half-century.

Such was the Church of Notre Dame at Antwerp. Thus indifferent or hostile toward the architectural treasure were the inhabitants of a city where in a previous age the whole population would have risked their lives to defend what they esteemed the pride and garland of their metropolis.

The Prince of Orange had been anxiously solicited by the regent to attend the conference at Duffel. After returning to Antwerp, he consented, in consequence of the urgent entreaties of the senate, to delay his departure until the 18th of August should be past. On the 13th of that month he had agreed with the magistrates upon an ordinance, which was accordingly published, and by which the preachings were restricted to the fields. A deputation of merchants and others waited upon him with a request to be permitted the exercises of the Reformed religion in the city. This petition the prince peremptorily refused, and the deputies, as well as their constituents, acquiesced in the decision, "out of especial regard and respect for his person." He, however, distinctly informed the duchess that it would be difficult or impossible to maintain such a position long, and that his departure from the city would probably be followed by an outbreak. He warned her that it was very

imprudent for him to leave Antwerp at that particular juncture. Nevertheless, the meeting of the Fleece Knights seemed, in Margaret's opinion, imperatively to require his presence in Brussels. She insisted by repeated letters that he should leave Antwerp immediately.¹

Upon the 18th August the great and time-honored ceremony of the Ommegang occurred. Accordingly, the great procession, the principal object of which was to conduct around the city a colossal image of the Virgin, issued as usual from the door of the cathedral. The image, bedizened and effulgent, was borne aloft upon the shoulders of her adorers, followed by the guilds, the military associations, the rhetoricians, the religious sodalities, all in glittering costume, bearing blazoned banners, and marching triumphantly through the streets with sound of trumpet and beat of drum.² The pageant, solemn but noisy, was exactly such a show as was most fitted at that moment to irritate Protestant minds and to lead to mischief. No violent explosion of ill feeling, however, took place. The procession was followed by a rabble rout of scoffers, but they confined themselves to words and insulting gestures.³ The image was incessantly saluted, as she was borne along the streets, with sneers, imprecations, and the rudest ribaldry. "Mayken! Mayken!" (little Mary) "your hour is come. 'T is your last promenade. The city is tired of you." Such were the greetings which the representative of the Holy Virgin received from men grown weary of antiquated mummary. A few missiles were thrown occa-

¹ Bor, ii. 81-83. Hoofd, iii. 99. Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 188, 189. Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 236, 237.

² Bor, ii. 83. Meteren, ii. 40.

³ Bor, ubi sup.

sionally at the procession as it passed through the city, but no damage was inflicted. When the image was at last restored to its place, and the pageant brought to a somewhat hurried conclusion, there seemed cause for congratulation that no tumult had occurred.

On the following morning there was a large crowd collected in front of the cathedral. The image, instead of standing in the center of the church, where, upon all former occasions, it had been accustomed during the week succeeding the ceremony to receive congratulatory visits, was now ignominiously placed behind an iron railing within the choir. It had been deemed imprudent to leave it exposed to sacrilegious hands. The precaution excited derision. Many vagabonds of dangerous appearance, many idle apprentices and ragged urchins were hanging for a long time about the imprisoned image, peeping through the railings, and indulging in many a brutal jest. "Mayken! Mayken!" they cried, "art thou terrified so soon? Hast flown to thy nest so early? Dost think thyself beyond the reach of mischief? Beware, Mayken! thine hour is fast approaching!" Others thronged around the balustrade, shouting "*Vivent les gueux!*" and hoarsely commanding the image to join in the beggars' cry. Then, leaving the spot, the mob roamed idly about the magnificent church, sneering at the idols, execrating the gorgeous ornaments, scoffing at crucifix and altar.

Presently one of the rabble, a ragged fellow of mechanical aspect, in a tattered black doublet and an old straw hat, ascended the pulpit. Opening a sacred volume which he found there, he began to deliver an extemporaneous and coarse caricature of a monkish sermon. Some of the bystanders applauded, some cried



THE MOB IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ANTWERP.

Drawing by H. Knackfuss.

"Shame!" some shouted "Long live the beggars!" some threw sticks and rubbish at the mountebank, some caught him by the legs and strove to pull him from the place. He, on the other hand, manfully maintained his ground, hurling back every missile, struggling with his assailants, and continuing the while to pour forth a malignant and obscene discourse. At last a young sailor, warm in the Catholic faith, and impulsive as mariners are prone to be, ascended the pulpit from behind, sprang upon the mechanic, and flung him headlong down the steps. The preacher grappled with his enemy as he fell, and both came rolling to the ground. Neither was much injured, but a tumult ensued. A pistol-shot was fired, and the sailor wounded in the arm. Daggers were drawn, cudgels brandished, the bystanders taking part generally against the sailor, while those who protected him were somewhat bruised and belabored before they could convey him out of the church. Nothing more, however, transpired that day, and the keepers of the cathedral were enabled to expel the crowd and to close the doors for the night.¹

Information of this tumult was brought to the senate, then assembled in the Hôtel de Ville. That body was thrown into a state of great perturbation. In losing the Prince of Orange they seemed to have lost their own brains, and the first measure which they took was to despatch a messenger to implore his return. In the meantime it was necessary that they should do something for themselves. It was evident that a storm was brewing. The pest which was sweeping so rapidly through the provinces would soon be among them. Symptoms of the dreaded visitation were already but

¹ Bor, ii. 83. Hoofd, iii. 99. Strada, v. 211. Meteren, 40.

too manifest. What precaution should they take? Should they issue a proclamation? Such documents had been too common of late, and had lost their virtue. It was the time not to assert but to exercise authority. Should they summon the ward-masters, and order the instant arming and mustering of their respective companies? Should they assemble the captains of the military associations? Nothing better could have been desired than such measures in cases of invasion or of ordinary tumult, but who should say how deeply the poison had sunk into the body politic, who should say with how much or how little alacrity the burgher militia would obey the mandates of the magistracy? It would be better to issue no proclamation unless they could enforce its provisions; it would be better not to call out the citizen soldiery unless they were likely to prove obedient. Should mercenary troops at this late hour be sent for? Would not their appearance at this crisis rather inflame the rage than intimidate the insolence of the sectaries? Never were magistrates in greater perplexity. They knew not what course was likely to prove the safest, and, in their anxiety to do nothing wrong, the senators did nothing at all. After a long and anxious consultation the honest burgomaster and his associates all went home to their beds, hoping that the threatening flame of civil tumult would die out of itself, or perhaps that their dreams would supply them with that wisdom which seemed denied to their waking hours.¹

In the morning, as it was known that no precaution had been taken, the audacity of the reformers was naturally increased. Within the cathedral a great

¹ Bor, ii. 83, 84. Hoofd, iii. 99.

crowd was at an early hour collected, whose 'savage looks and ragged appearance denoted that the day and night were not likely to pass away so peacefully as the last. The same taunts and imprecations were hurled at the image of the Virgin; the same howling of the beggars' cry resounded through the lofty arches. For a few hours no act of violence was committed, but the crowd increased. A few trifles, drifting, as usual, before the event, seemed to indicate the approaching convulsion. A very paltry old woman excited the image-breaking of Antwerp. She had for years been accustomed to sit before the door of the cathedral with wax tapers and wafers, earning a scanty subsistence from the profits of her meager trade, and by the small coins which she sometimes received in charity. Some of the rabble began to chaffer with this ancient hucksteress. They scoffed at her consecrated wares; they bandied with her ribald jests, of which her public position had furnished her with a supply; they assured her that the hour had come when her idolatrous traffic was to be forever terminated, when she and her patroness, Mary, were to be given over to destruction together. The old woman, enraged, answered threat with threat, and gibe with gibe. Passing from words to deeds, she began to catch from the ground every offensive missile or weapon which she could find, and to lay about her in all directions. Her tormentors defended themselves as they could. Having destroyed her whole stock in trade, they provoked others to appear in her defense. The passers-by thronged to the scene; the cathedral was soon filled to overflowing; a furious tumult was already in progress.¹

¹ Bor, ii. 83. Hoofd, iii. 100. Meteren, ii. 40.

Many persons fled in alarm to the town house, carrying information of this outbreak to the magistrates. John van Immerzeel, Margrave of Antwerp, was then holding communication with the senate, and awaiting the arrival of the ward-masters, whom it had at last been thought expedient to summon. Upon intelligence of this riot, which the militia, if previously mustered, might have prevented, the senate determined to proceed to the cathedral in a body, with the hope of quelling the mob by the dignity of their presence. The margrave, who was the high executive officer of the little commonwealth, marched down to the cathedral accordingly, attended by the two burgomasters and all the senators. At first their authority, solicitations, and personal influence produced a good effect. Some of those outside consented to retire, and the tumult partially subsided within. As night, however, was fast approaching, many of the mob insisted upon remaining for evening mass. They were informed that there would be none that night, and that for once the people could certainly dispense with their vespers.

Several persons now manifesting an intention of leaving the cathedral, it was suggested to the senators that if they should lead the way, the populace would follow in their train, and so disperse to their homes. The excellent magistrates took the advice, not caring, perhaps, to fulfil any longer the dangerous but not dignified functions of police officers. Before departing, they adopted the precaution of closing all the doors of the church, leaving a single one open, that the rabble still remaining might have an opportunity to depart. It seemed not to occur to the senators that the same gate would as conveniently afford an entrance for those with-

out as an egress for those within. That unlooked-for event happened, however. No sooner had the magistrates retired than the rabble burst through the single door which had been left open, overpowered the magistrate, who, with a few attendants, had remained behind, vainly endeavoring by threats and exhortations to appease the tumult, drove him ignominiously from the church, and threw all the other portals wide open. Then the populace flowed in like an angry sea. The whole of the cathedral was at the mercy of the rioters, who were evidently bent on mischief. The wardens and treasurers of the church, after a vain attempt to secure a few of its most precious possessions, retired. They carried the news to the senators, who, accompanied by a few halberdmen, again ventured to approach the spot. It was but for a moment, however, for, appalled by the furious sounds which came from within the church, as if subterranean and invisible forces were preparing a catastrophe which no human power could withstand, the magistrates fled precipitately from the scene. Fearing that the next attack would be upon the town house, they hastened to concentrate at that point their available forces, and left the stately cathedral to its fate.¹

And now, as the shadows of night were deepening the perpetual twilight in the church, the work of destruction commenced. Instead of evening mass rose the fierce music of a psalm, yelled by a thousand angry voices. It seemed the preconcerted signal for a general attack. A band of marauders flew upon the image of the Virgin, dragged it forth from its receptacle, plunged daggers into its inanimate body, tore off its jeweled

¹ Bor, ii. 83, 84. Hoofd, iii. 100 sqq. Strada, v. 212. Meteren, ii. 40.

and embroidered garments, broke the whole figure into a thousand pieces, and scattered the fragments along the floor. A wild shout succeeded, and then the work, which seemed delegated to a comparatively small number of the assembled crowd, went on with incredible celerity. Some were armed with axes, some with bludgeons, some with sledge-hammers; others brought ladders, pulleys, ropes, and levers. Every statue was hurled from its niche, every picture torn from the wall, every wonderfully painted window shattered to atoms, every ancient monument shattered, every sculptured decoration, however inaccessible in appearance, hurled to the ground. Indefatigably, audaciously, endowed, as it seemed, with preternatural strength and nimbleness, these furious iconoclasts clambered up the dizzy heights, shrieking and chattering like malignant apes, as they tore off in triumph the slowly matured fruit of centuries. In a space of time wonderfully brief they had accomplished their task.

A colossal and magnificent group of the Saviour crucified between two thieves adorned the principal altar. The statue of Christ was wrenched from its place with ropes and pulleys, while the malefactors, with bitter and blasphemous irony, were left on high, the only representatives of the marble crowd which had been destroyed. A very beautiful piece of architecture decorated the choir—the “repository,” as it was called, in which the body of Christ was figuratively enshrined. This much-admired work rested upon a single column, but rose, arch upon arch, pillar upon pillar, to the height of three hundred feet, till quite lost in the vault above.¹ “It was now shattered into a million pieces.” The

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

statues, images, pictures, ornaments, as they lay upon the ground, were broken with sledge-hammers, hewn with axes, trampled, torn, and beaten into shreds. A troop of harlots, snatching waxen tapers from the altars, stood around the destroyers and lighted them at their work. Nothing escaped their omnivorous rage. They desecrated seventy chapels, forced open all the chests of treasure, covered their own squalid attire with the gorgeous robes of the ecclesiastics, broke the sacred bread, poured out the sacramental wine into golden chalices, quaffing huge draughts to the beggars' health, burned all the splendid missals and manuscripts, and smeared their shoes with the sacred oil with which kings and prelates had been anointed. It seemed that each of these malicious creatures must have been endowed with the strength of a hundred giants. How else, in the few brief hours of a midsummer night, could such a monstrous desecration have been accomplished by a troop which, according to all accounts, was not more than one hundred in number? ¹ There was a multitude of spectators, as upon all such occasions, but the actual spoilers were very few.

The noblest and richest temple of the Netherlands was a wreck, but the fury of the spoilers was excited, not appeased. Each seizing a burning torch, the whole herd rushed from the cathedral, and swept howling through the streets. "Long live the beggars!" resounded through the sultry midnight air, as the ravenous pack flew to and fro, smiting every image of the Virgin, every crucifix, every sculptured saint, every

¹ Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 183. Compare Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 97; *Strada*, v. 213; *Hoofd*, iii. 101; *Burgon*, ii. 137-141; *Bor*, ii. 84; *Meteren*, ii. 40; *Bentivoglio*, ii. 35, 36.

Catholic symbol which they met with upon their path. All night long they roamed from one sacred edifice to another, thoroughly destroying as they went. Before morning they had sacked thirty churches within the city walls. They entered the monasteries, burned their invaluable libraries, destroyed their altars, statues, pictures, and descending into the cellars, broached every cask which they found there, pouring out in one great flood all the ancient wine and ale with which those holy men had been wont to solace their retirement from generation to generation. They invaded the nunneries, whence the occupants, panic-stricken, fled for refuge to the houses of their friends and kindred. The streets were filled with monks and nuns, running this way and that, shrieking and fluttering, to escape the claws of these fiendish Calvinists.¹ The terror was imaginary, for not the least remarkable feature in these transactions was that neither insult nor injury was offered to man or woman, and that not a farthing's value of the immense amount of property destroyed was appropriated. It was a war not against the living, but against graven images, nor was the sentiment which prompted the onslaught in the least commingled with a desire of plunder. The principal citizens of Antwerp, expecting every instant that the storm would be diverted from the ecclesiastical edifices to private dwellings, and that robbery, rape, and murder would follow sacrilege, remained

¹ Strada, v. 215. Hoofd, Bor, ubi sup. "Vous eussiez veu," says Pontus Payen, "les pauvres nonains sortir de leurs monastères on habits deguisez et les aucunes a demye couvertes, se sauver en maisons de leurs parens et amis, et les prestres et Moines courroient que ça et que là, fuians les griffes de ces malins reformés," etc.—MS., liv. ii.

all night expecting the attack, and prepared to defend their hearths, even if the altars were profaned. The precaution was needless. It was asserted by the Catholics that the confederates and other opulent Protestants had organized this company of profligates for the meager pittance of ten stivers a day. On the other hand, it was believed by many that the Catholics had themselves plotted the whole outrage in order to bring odium upon the reformers. Both statements were equally unfounded. The task was most thoroughly performed, but it was prompted by a furious fanaticism, not by baser motives.¹

Two days and nights longer the havoc raged unchecked through all the churches of Antwerp and the neighboring villages. Hardly a statue or picture escaped destruction. Fortunately, the illustrious artist whose labors were destined in the next generation to enrich and ennoble the city, Rubens, most profound of colorists, most dramatic of artists, whose profuse tropical genius seemed to flower the more luxuriantly, as if the destruction wrought by brutal hands were to be compensated by the creative energy of one divine spirit, had not yet been born. Of the treasures which existed the destruction was complete. Yet the rage was directed exclusively against stocks and stones. Not a man was wounded nor a woman outraged. Prisoners, indeed, who had been languishing hopelessly in dungeons were liberated. A monk who had been in the prison of the Barefoot Monastery for twelve years recovered his freedom. Art was trampled in the dust, but humanity deplored no victims.²

¹ Burgon, ii. 137-141. Bor, ii. 89. Hoofd, iii. 101. Hopper, 97.

² Meteren, ii. 40. Bor, ii. 84. Strada, v. 215, 216.

These leading features characterized the movement everywhere. The process was simultaneous and almost universal. It was difficult to say where it began and where it ended. A few days in the midst of August sufficed for the whole work. The number of churches desecrated has never been counted. In the single province of Flanders four hundred were sacked.¹ In Limburg, Luxemburg, and Namur² there was no image-breaking. In Mechlin seventy or eighty persons accomplished the work thoroughly, in the very teeth of the Grand Council and of an astonished magistracy.³

In Tournay, a city distinguished for its ecclesiastical splendor, the reform had been making great progress during the summer. At the same time the hatred between the two religions had been growing more and more intense. Trifles and serious matters alike fed the mutual animosity.

A tremendous outbreak had been nearly occasioned by an insignificant incident. A Jesuit of some notoriety had been preaching a glowing discourse in the pulpit of Notre Dame. He earnestly avowed his wish that he were good enough to die for all his hearers. He proved to demonstration that no man should shrink from torture or martyrdom in order to sustain the ancient faith. As he was thus expatiating, his fervid discourse was suddenly interrupted by three sharp, sudden blows, of a very peculiar character, struck upon the great portal of the church. The priest, forgetting his love for mar-

¹ Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 183.

² Hoofd, iii. 103.

³ Pontus Payen MS. According to Renom de France, the work was done by thirty or forty "personnes de nulle qualité."—MS., i. c. 20.

tyrdom, turned pale and dropped under the pulpit. Hurrying down the steps, he took refuge in the vestry, locking and barring the door. The congregation shared in his panic. "The beggars are coming!" was the general cry. There was a horrible tumult, which extended through the city as the congregation poured precipitately out of the cathedral to escape a band of destroying and furious Calvinists. Yet when the shock had a little subsided, it was discovered that a small urchin was the cause of the whole tumult. Having been bathing in the Schelde, he had returned by way of the church with a couple of bladders under his arm. He had struck these against the door of the cathedral, partly to dry them, partly from a love of mischief. Thus a great uproar, in the course of which it had been feared that Tournay was to be sacked and drenched in blood, had been caused by a little wanton boy who had been swimming on bladders.¹

This comedy preceded by a few days only the actual disaster. On the 22d of August the news reached Tournay that the churches in Antwerp, Ghent, and many other places had been sacked. There was an instantaneous movement toward imitating the example on the same evening. Pasquier de la Barre, procureur-général of the city, succeeded by much entreaty in tranquillizing the people for the night. The "guard of terror" was set, and hopes were entertained that the storm might blow over. The expectation was vain. At daybreak next day the mob swept upon the churches and stripped them to the very walls. Pictures, statues, organs, ornaments, chalices of silver and gold, reliquaries, albs, chasubles, copes, ciboria, crosses, chan-

¹ De la Barre MS., 26, 27. •

deliers, lamps, censers, all of richest material, glittering with pearls, rubies, and other precious stones, were scattered in heaps of ruin upon the ground.¹

As the spoilers burrowed among the ancient tombs, they performed, in one or two instances, acts of startling posthumous justice. The embalmed body of Duke Adolphus of Guelders, last of the Egmonts, who had reigned in that province, was dragged from its sepulcher and recognized.² Although it had been there for ninety years, it was as uncorrupted, "owing to the excellent spices which had preserved it from decay,"³ as upon the day of burial. Thrown upon the marble floor of the church, it lay several days exposed to the execrations of the multitude.⁴ The duke had committed a crime against his father, in consequence of which the province, which had been ruled by native races, had passed under the dominion of Charles the Bold. Weary of waiting for the old duke's inheritance, he had risen against him in open rebellion. Dragging him from his bed at midnight in the depth of winter, he had compelled the old man, with no covering but his night-gear, to walk with naked feet twenty-five miles over ice and snow from Grave to Buren, while he himself performed the same journey in his company on horseback. He had then thrown him into a dungeon beneath the tower of Buren Castle, and kept him a close prisoner for six months.⁵ At last the Duke of Burgundy summoned

¹ Pasquier de la Barre MS., 33.

² Nic. Burgundi, *Hist. Belg.* (Ingolstadt, 1629), iii. 315-318.

³ Pontus Payen MS.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Mémoires de Philippe de Comines* (Lond. et Paris, 1747), liv. iv. 194-196. In the Royal Gallery at Berlin is a startling picture by Rembrandt, in which the old duke is represented looking out

the two before his council, and proposed that Adolphus should allow his father six thousand florins annually, with the title of duke till his death. "He told us," said Comines, "that he would sooner throw the old man head foremost down a well and jump in himself afterward. His father had been duke forty-four years, and it was time for him to retire." Adolphus, being thus intractable, had been kept in prison till after the death of Charles the Bold. To the memorable insurrection of Ghent, in the time of the Lady Mary, he owed his liberty. The insurgent citizens took him from prison, and caused him to lead them in their foray against Tournay.¹ Beneath the walls of that city he was slain, and buried under its cathedral. And now, as if his offense had not been sufficiently atoned for by the loss of his ancestral honors, his captivity, and his death, the earth, after the lapse of nearly a century, had cast him forth from her bosom. There, once more beneath the sunlight, amid a ribald crew of a later generation which had still preserved the memory of his sin, lay the body of the more than parricide, whom "excellent spices" had thus preserved from corruption, only to be the mark of scorn and demoniac laughter.²

A large assemblage of rioters, growing in numbers as they advanced, swept over the province of Tournay, after accomplishing the sack of the city churches. Armed with halberds, hammers, and pitchforks, they of the bars of his dungeon at his son, who is threatening him with uplifted hand and savage face. No subject could be imagined better adapted to the gloomy and sarcastic genius of that painter.

¹ *Mémoires de Philippe de Comines* (Lond. et Paris, 1747), liv. iv. 194-196.

² *Nic. Burgundi, ubi sup.* Pontus Payen MS. G. Brandt, i. 355, 356.

carried on the war, day after day, against the images. At the convent of Marchiennes, considered by contemporaries the most beautiful abbey in all the Netherlands, they halted to sing the Ten Commandments in Marot's verse. Hardly had the vast chorus finished the precept against graven images:

Tailler ne te feras imaige
De quelque chose que ce soit,
Sy honneur luy fais ou hommaige,
Bon Dieu jalousie en reçoit,

when the whole mob seemed seized with sudden madness. Without waiting to complete the psalm, they fastened upon the company of marble martyrs as if they had possessed sensibility to feel the blows inflicted. In an hour they had laid the whole in ruins.¹

Having accomplished this deed, they swept on toward Anchin. Here, however, they were confronted by the Seigneur de la Tour, who, at the head of a small company of peasants, attacked the marauders and gained a complete victory. Five or six hundred of them were slain, others were drowned in the river and adjacent swamps, the rest were dispersed.² It was thus proved that a little more spirit upon the part of the orderly portion of the inhabitants might have brought about a different result than the universal image-breaking.

In Valenciennes the "tragedy," as an eye-witness calls it, was performed upon St. Bartholomew's day. It was, however, only a tragedy of statues. Hardly as many senseless stones were victims as there were to be living Huguenots sacrificed in a single city upon a

¹ Pontus Payen MS., ii.

² Ibid. Hopper, 98, 99.

Bartholomew which was fast approaching. In the Valenciennes massacre not a human being was injured.

Such in general outline and in certain individual details was the celebrated iconomachy of the Netherlands. The movement was a sudden explosion of popular revenge against the symbols of that church from which the reformers had been enduring such terrible persecution. It was also an expression of the general sympathy for the doctrines which had taken possession of the national heart. It was the depravation of that instinct which had in the beginning of the summer drawn Calvinists and Lutherans forth in armed bodies, twenty thousand strong, to worship God in the open fields. The difference between the two phenomena was that the field-preaching was a crime committed by the whole mass of the reformers,—men, women, and children confronting the penalties of death by a general determination,—while the image-breaking was the act of a small portion of the populace. A hundred persons belonging to the lowest order of society sufficed for the desecration of the Antwerp churches. It was, said Orange, “a mere handful of rabble” who did the deed.¹ Sir Richard Clough saw ten or twelve persons entirely sack church after church, while ten thousand spectators looked on, indifferent or horror-struck. The bands of iconoclasts were of the lowest character, and few in number. Perhaps the largest assemblage was that which ravaged

¹ “Ein hauffen leichtfertiges gesindlins.”—Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 262. “So sind es nuhr geringschetziige und schlechte leuthe gewesen die solches ausz eigner bewegung und ungedult der langen zeitt geübtten unmenschlichen verfolgung begangen haben.”—Letter of Orange to the Elector of Saxony, in Archives et Correspondance, ii. 484.

the province of Tournay, but this was so weak as to be entirely routed by a small and determined force. The duty of repression devolved upon both Catholics and Protestants. Neither party stirred. All seemed overcome with special wonder as the tempest swept over the land.

The ministers of the Reformed religion and the chiefs of the liberal party all denounced the image-breaking. Francis Junius¹ bitterly regretted such excesses. Ambrose Wille, pure of all participation in the crime, stood up before ten thousand reformers at Tournay—even while the storm was raging in the neighboring cities, and when many voices around him were hoarsely commanding similar depravities—to rebuke the outrages by which a sacred cause was disgraced.² The Prince of Orange, in his private letters, deplored the riots and stigmatized the perpetrators. Even Brederode, while as suzerain of his city of Vianen he ordered the images there to be quietly taken from the churches, characterized this popular insurrection as insensate and flagitious.³ Many of the leading confederates not only were offended with the proceedings, but, in their eagerness to chastise the iconoclasts and to escape from a league of which they were weary, began to take severe measures against the ministers and reformers, of whom they had constituted themselves in April the especial protectors.

The next remarkable characteristic of these tumults was the almost entire abstinence of the rioters from personal outrage and from pillage. The testimony of a very bitter but honest Catholic at Valenciennes is re-

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 217, 218.

² De la Barre MS.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 261, 265, 483.

markable upon this point. "Certain chroniclers," said he, "have greatly mistaken the character of this image-breaking. It has been said that the Calvinists killed a hundred priests in this city, cutting some of them into pieces, and burning others over a slow fire. *I remember very well everything which happened upon that abominable day*, and I can affirm that not a single priest was injured. The Huguenots took good care *not to injure in any way the living images*."¹ This was the case everywhere. Catholic and Protestant writers agree that no deeds of violence were committed against man or woman.²

It would be also very easy to accumulate a vast weight of testimony as to their forbearance from robbery. They destroyed for destruction's sake, not for purposes of plunder. Although belonging to the lowest classes of society, they left heaps of jewelry, of gold and silver plate, of costly embroidery, lying unheeded upon the ground. They felt instinctively that a great passion would be contaminated by admixture with paltry motives. In Flanders a company of rioters hanged one of their own number for stealing articles to the value of five shillings.³ In Valenciennes the iconoclasts were offered large sums if they would refrain from desecrating the churches of that city, but they rejected the proposal with disdain. The honest Catholic burgher who recorded the fact observed that he did so because of the many misrepresentations on the

¹ Histoire des choses les plus mémorables, etc., MS.

² See letter of Clough already quoted. Compare Strada, v. 215, for proofs of the abstinence from insult to the nuns and other women on this memorable occasion.

³ Burgon, ubi sup.

subject, not because he wished to flatter heresy and rebellion.¹

At Tournay the greatest scrupulousness was observed upon this point. The floor of the cathedral was strewn with "pearls and precious stones, with chalices and reliquaries of silver and gold"; but the ministers of the Reformed religion, in company with the magistrates, came to the spot, and found no difficulty, although utterly without power to prevent the storm, in taking quiet possession of the wreck. "We had everything of value," says Procureur-Général de la Barre, "carefully inventoried, weighed, locked in chests, and placed under a strict guard in the prison of the Halle, to which one set of keys were given to the ministers, and another to the magistrates."² Who will dare to censure in very severe language this havoc among stocks and stones in a land where so many living men and women, of more value than many statues, had been slaughtered by the Inquisition, and where Alva's "Blood-Tribunal" was so soon to eclipse even that terrible institution in the number of its victims and the amount of its confiscations?

Yet the effect of the riots was destined to be most disastrous for a time to the reforming party. It furnished plausible excuses for many lukewarm friends of their cause to withdraw from all connection with it.³ Egmont denounced the proceedings as highly flagitious, and busied himself with punishing the criminals in Flanders.⁴ The regent was beside herself with indigna-

¹ "Ce n'est pas que je veuille flatter la rebellion et l'heresie, ny la qualifier beningne et debonnaire."—Valenciennes MS.

² Pasquier de la Barre MS., f. 33.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 282.

⁴ Pontus Payen MS.

tion and terror. Philip, when he heard the news, fell into a paroxysm of frenzy. "It shall cost them dear!" he cried, as he tore his beard for rage—"it shall cost them dear! I swear it by the soul of my father!"¹ The Reformation in the Netherlands, by the fury of these fanatics, was thus made apparently to abandon the high ground upon which it had stood in the early summer. The sublime spectacle of the multitudinous field-preaching was sullied by the excesses of the image-breaking. The religious war, before imminent, became inevitable.

Nevertheless, the first effect of the tumults was a temporary advantage to the reformers. A great concession was extorted from the fears of the duchess regent, who was certainly placed in a terrible position. Her conduct was not heroic, although she might be forgiven for trepidation. Her treachery, however, under these trying circumstances was less venial. At three o'clock in the morning of the 22d of August,² Orange, Egmont, Horn, Hoogstraaten, Mansfeld, and others were summoned to the palace. They found her already equipped for flight, surrounded by her waiting-women, chamberlains, and lackeys, while the mules and hackneys stood harnessed in the courtyard, and her body-guard were prepared to mount at a moment's notice.³ She

¹ Letter of Morillon to Granvelle, 29th September, 1566, in Gachard, *Anal. Belg.*, 254.

² Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 188 sqq. Letter of Horn in Foppens, *Supplément*, ii. 477 sqq. Vit. Viglii, 47, 48. Vigl. Epist. ad Hopperum, 373.

³ Letter of Horn to Montigny in Foppens, and in Bijvoegsel Authent. Stukken tot de Hist. v. P. Bor, i. 91, 92. Vit. Viglii, ubi supra. Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, ubi sup. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 452-454.

announced her intention of retreating at once to Mons, in which city, owing to Aerschot's care, she hoped to find refuge against the fury of the rebellion then sweeping the country. Her alarm was almost beyond control. She was certain that the storm was ready to burst upon Brussels, and that every Catholic was about to be massacred before her eyes. Aremberg, Berlaymont, and Noirearmes were with the duchess when the other seigniors arrived.

A part of the Duke of Aerschot's company had been ordered out to escort the projected flight to Mons. Orange, Horn, Egmont, and Hoogstraaten implored her to desist from her fatal resolution. They represented that such a retreat before a mob would be the very means of ruining the country. They denounced all persons who had counseled the scheme as enemies of his Majesty and herself. They protested their readiness to die at her feet in her defense, but besought her not to abandon the post of duty in the hour of peril. While they were thus anxiously debating, Viglius entered the chamber. With tears streaming down her cheeks, Margaret turned to the aged president, uttering fierce reproaches and desponding lamentations. Viglius brought the news that the citizens had taken possession of the gates and were resolved not to permit her departure from the city. He reminded her, according to the indispensable practice of all wise counselors, that he had been constantly predicting this result. He, however, failed in administering much consolation, or in suggesting any remedy. He was, in truth, in as great a panic as herself, and it was, according to the statement of the duchess, mainly in order to save the president from threatened danger that she eventually resolved to make

concessions. "Viglius," wrote Margaret to Philip, "is so much afraid of being cut to pieces that his timidity has become incredible."¹ Upon the warm assurance of Count Horn that he would enable her to escape from the city, should it become necessary, or would perish in the attempt, a promise in which he was seconded by the rest of the seigniors, she consented to remain for the day in her palace.² Mansfeld was appointed captain-general of the city; Egmont, Horn, Orange, and the others agreed to serve under his orders, and all went down together to the town house. The magistrates were summoned, a general meeting of the citizens was convened, and the announcement made of Mansfeld's appointment, together with an earnest appeal to all honest men to support the government. The appeal was answered by a shout of unanimous approbation, an enthusiastic promise to live or die with the regent, and the expression of a resolution to permit neither Reformed preaching nor image-breaking within the city.³

Nevertheless, at seven o'clock in the evening the duchess again sent for the seigniors. She informed them that she had received fresh and certain information that the churches were to be sacked that very night, that Viglius, Berlaymont, and Aremberg were to be killed, and that herself and Egmont were to be taken prisoners. She repeated many times that she had been ill advised, expressed bitter regret at having deferred her flight from the city, and called upon those who had obstructed her plan now to fulfil their promises. Turning fiercely upon Count Horn, she uttered a

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 460, 461.

² Letter of Horn to Montigny, ubi sup.

³ Ibid.

volley of reproaches upon his share in the transaction. "You are the cause," said she, "that I am now in this position. Why do you not redeem your pledge and enable me to leave the place at once?"¹ Horn replied that he was ready to do so if she were resolved to stay no longer. He would at the instant cut his way through the guard at the Caudenberg gate, and bring her out in safety, or die in the effort. At the same time he assured her that he gave no faith to the idle reports flying about the city, reminded her that nobles, magistrates, and citizens were united in her defense, and in brief used the same arguments which had before been used to pacify her alarm. The nobles were again successful in enforcing their counsels, the duchess was spared the ignominy and the disaster of a retreat before an insurrection which was only directed against statues, and the ecclesiastical treasures of Brussels were saved from sacrilege.²

On the 23d August came the crowning act of what the reformers considered their most complete triumph, and the regent her deepest degradation. It was found necessary, under the alarming aspect of affairs, that liberty of worship, in places where it had been already established, should be accorded to the new religion. Articles of agreement to this effect were accordingly drawn up and exchanged between the government and Louis of Nassau, attended by fifteen others of the confederacy. A corresponding pledge was signed by them

¹ Letter of Horn to Montigny, *ubi sup.* Hoofd, iii. 107. Bor, ii. 85.

² *Ibid.* *Ibid.* *Ibid.* Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, *ubi sup.* Correspondance de Philippe II., i. *ubi sup.* Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 237, 238. Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 99.

that so long as the regent was true to her engagement they would consider their previously existing league annulled, and would assist cordially in every endeavor to maintain tranquillity and support the authority of his Majesty. The important Accord was then duly signed by the duchess. It declared that the Inquisition was abolished, that his Majesty would soon issue a new general edict expressly and unequivocally protecting the nobles against all evil consequences from past transactions, that they were to be employed in the royal service, and that public preaching according to the forms of the new religion was to be practised in places where it had already taken place. Letters general were immediately despatched to the senates of all the cities, proclaiming these articles of agreement and ordering their execution.¹ Thus for a fleeting moment there was a thrill of joy throughout the Netherlands. The Inquisition was thought forever abolished, the era of religious reformation arrived.

¹ Bor, ii. 97, 98. Hoofd, iii. 109. Strada, v. 222. Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 99-202.

CHAPTER VIII

Secret policy of the government—Berghen and Montigny in Spain—Debates at Segovia—Correspondence of the duchess with Philip—Procrastination and dissimulation of the king—Secret communication to the pope—Effect in the provinces of the king's letters to the government—Secret instructions to the duchess—Desponding statements of Margaret—Her misrepresentations concerning Orange, Egmont, and others—Wrath and duplicity of Philip—Egmont's exertions in Flanders—Orange returns to Antwerp—His tolerant spirit—Agreement of 2d September—Horn at Tournay—Excavations in the cathedral—Almost universal attendance at the preaching—Building of temples commenced—Difficult position of Horn—Preaching in the Clothiers' Hall—Horn recalled—Noircarnes at Tournay—Friendly correspondence of Margaret with Orange, Egmont, Horn, and Hoogstraaten—Her secret defamation of these persons.

EGMONT in Flanders, Orange at Antwerp, Horn at Tournay, Hoogstraaten at Mechlin, were exerting themselves to suppress insurrection and to avert ruin.¹ What, meanwhile, was the policy of the government? The secret course pursued both at Brussels and at Madrid may be condensed into the usual formula—dissimulation, procrastination, and again dissimulation.

¹ Pontus Payen MS. *La Défense de Messire Antoine de Lalaing, Compte de Hoestrade, etc., Mons* (republished by M. Gachard). Letter of Horn to Montigny, Foppens, ii. 480. Bor, ii. 84–86. Wesenbeck.

It is at this point necessary to take a rapid survey of the open and the secret proceedings of the king and his representatives from the moment at which Berghen and Montigny arrived in Madrid. Those ill-fated gentlemen had been received with apparent cordiality, and admitted to frequent but unmeaning interviews with his Majesty. The current upon which they were embarked was deep and treacherous, but it was smooth and very slow. They assured the king that his letters ordering the rigorous execution of the Inquisition and edicts had engendered all the evils under which the provinces were laboring. They told him that Spaniards and tools of Spaniards had attempted to govern the country, to the exclusion of native citizens and nobles, but that it would soon be found that Netherlanders were not to be trodden upon like the abject inhabitants of Milan, Naples, and Sicily.¹ Such words as these struck with an unaccustomed sound upon the royal ear, but the envoys, who were both Catholic and loyal, had no idea, in thus expressing their opinions, according to their sense of duty and in obedience to the king's desire, upon the causes of the discontent, that they were committing an act of high treason.

When the news of the public preaching reached Spain there were almost daily consultations at the grove of Segovia. The eminent personages who composed the royal council were the Duke of Alva, the Count de Feria, Don Antonio de Toledo, Don Juan Manrique de Lara, Ruy Gomez, Quixada, Councilor Tisnacq, recently appointed president of the state council, and Councilor Hopper.² Six Spaniards and two Netherlanders, one of

¹ Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 78-80.

² *Ibid.*, 88.

whom, too, a man of dull intellect and thoroughly subservient character, to deal with the local affairs of the Netherlands in a time of intense excitement! The instructions of the envoys had been to represent the necessity of according three great points—abolition of the Inquisition, moderation of the edicts according to the draft prepared in Brussels, and an ample pardon for past transactions. There was much debate upon all these propositions.¹ Philip said little, but he listened attentively to the long discourses in council, and he took an incredible quantity of notes. It was the general opinion that this last demand on the part of the Netherlanders was the fourth link in the chain of treason. The first had been the cabal by which Granvelle had been expelled; the second, the mission of Egmont, the main object of which had been to procure a modification of the state council, in order to bring that body under the control of a few haughty and rebellious nobles; the third had been the presentation of the insolent and seditious Request; and now, to crown the whole, came a proposition embodying the three points—abolition of the Inquisition, revocation of the edicts, and a pardon to criminals for whom death was the only sufficient punishment.²

With regard to these three points, it was, after much wrangling, decided to grant them under certain restrictions. To abolish the Inquisition would be to remove the only instrument by which the Church had been accustomed to regulate the consciences and the doctrines of its subjects. It would be equivalent to a concession of religious freedom, at least to individuals within their

¹ Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, 81 sqq., 88 sqq.

² *Ibid.*, 81–83.

own domiciles, than which no concession could be more pernicious.¹ Nevertheless, it might be advisable to permit the temporary cessation of the papal Inquisition, now that the episcopal Inquisition had been so much enlarged and strengthened in the Netherlands, on the condition that this branch of the institution should be maintained in energetic condition.² With regard to the "Moderation," it was thought better to defer that matter till the proposed visit of his Majesty to the provinces. If, however, the regent should think it absolutely necessary to make a change, she must cause a new draft to be made, as that which had been sent was not found admissible.³ Touching the pardon general, it would be necessary to make many conditions and restrictions before it could be granted. Provided these were sufficiently minute to exclude all persons whom it might be found desirable to chastise, the amnesty was possible. Otherwise it was quite out of the question.

Meantime Margaret of Parma had been urging her brother to come to a decision, painting the distracted condition of the country in the liveliest colors, and insisting, although perfectly aware of Philip's private sentiments, upon a favorable decision as to the three points demanded by the envoys. Especially she urged her incapacity to resist any rebellion, and demanded succor of men and money in case the "Moderation" were not accepted by his Majesty.

It was the last day of July before the king wrote at all, to communicate his decisions upon the crisis which had occurred in the first week of April. The disorder for which he had finally prepared a prescription had, before his letter arrived, already passed through its

¹ Hopper, 86.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 87.

subsequent stages of the field-preaching and the image-breaking. Of course these fresh symptoms would require much consultation, pondering, and note-taking before they could be dealt with. In the meantime they would be considered as not yet having happened. This was the masterly procrastination of the sovereign, when his provinces were in a blaze.

His masterly dissimulation was employed in the direction suggested by his councilors. Philip never originated a thought nor laid down a plan, but he was ever true to the falsehood of his nature, and was indefatigable in following out the suggestions of others. No greater mistake can be made than to ascribe talent to this plodding and pedantic monarch. The man's intellect was contemptible, but malignity and duplicity almost superhuman have effectually lifted his character out of the regions of the commonplace. He wrote accordingly to say that the pardon, under certain conditions, might be granted, and that the papal Inquisition might cease—the bishops now being present in such numbers, “to take care of their flocks,” and the episcopal Inquisition being therefore established upon so secure a basis.¹ He added that if a moderation of the edicts were still desired, a new project might be sent to Madrid, as the one brought by Berghen and Montigny was not satisfactory.² In arranging this wonderful scheme for composing the tumults of the country, which had grown out of a determined rebellion to the Inquisition in any form, he followed not only the advice, but adopted the exact language of his councilors.

Certainly here was not much encouragement for

¹ Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 100–103 sqq.

² Ibid.

patriotic hearts in the Netherlands. A pardon so restricted that none were likely to be forgiven save those who had done no wrong; an episcopal Inquisition stimulated to renewed exertions, on the ground that the papal functionaries were to be discharged; and a promise that, although the proposed moderation of the edicts seemed too mild for the monarch's acceptance, yet at some future period another project would be matured for settling the matter to universal satisfaction—such were the propositions of the crown. Nevertheless, Philip thought he had gone too far even in administering this meager amount of mercy, and that he had been too frank in employing so slender a deception as in the scheme thus sketched. He therefore summoned a notary, before whom, in presence of the Duke of Alva, the Licentiate Menchaca, and Dr. Velasco, he declared that, although he had just authorized Margaret of Parma, by force of circumstances, to grant pardon to all those who had been compromised in the late disturbances of the Netherlands, yet, as he had not done this spontaneously nor freely, he did not consider himself bound by the authorization, but that, on the contrary, he reserved his right to punish all the guilty, and particularly those who had been the authors and encouragers of the sedition.¹

So much for the *pardon* promised in his official correspondence.

With regard to the concessions which he supposed himself to have made in the matter of the Inquisition and the edicts, he saved his conscience by another process. Revoking with his right hand all which his left had been doing, he had no sooner despatched his letters

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 443.

to the duchess regent than he sent off another to his envoy at Rome.¹ In this despatch he instructed Requesens to inform the pope as to the recent royal decisions upon the three points, and to state that there had not been time to consult his Holiness beforehand. Nevertheless, continued Philip, "the prudent," *it was perhaps better thus, since the abolition could have no force unless the pope, by whom the institution had been established, consented to its suspension. This matter, however, was to be kept a profound secret.*² So much for the Inquisition matter. The papal institution, notwithstanding the official letters, was to exist, unless the pope chose to destroy it; and his Holiness, as we have seen, had sent the Archbishop of Sorrento, a few weeks before, to Brussels, for the purpose of concerting secret measures for strengthening the Holy Office in the provinces.

With regard to the proposed moderation of the edicts, Philip informed Pius V., through Requesens, that the project sent by the duchess not having been approved, orders had been transmitted for a new draft, in which all the articles providing for *the severe punishment of heretics were to be retained*, while alterations, to be agreed upon by the state and privy councils and the Knights of the Fleece, were to be adopted—certainly in no sense of clemency. On the contrary, the king assured his Holiness that if the *severity of chastisement should be mitigated* the least in the world by the new articles, they would in no case receive the royal approbation. Philip further implored the pope "not to be scandalized" with regard to the proposed pardon, as it would be by no means extended

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 445, 446.

² Ibid.

to offenders against religion. All this was to be kept entirely secret. The king added that, rather than permit the least prejudice to the ancient religion, he would sacrifice all his states, and lose a hundred lives if he had so many; for he would never consent to be the sovereign of heretics. He said he would arrange the troubles of the Netherlands without violence, if possible, because forcible measures would cause the entire destruction of the country. Nevertheless, they should be employed if his purpose could be accomplished in no other way. In that case the king would himself be the executor of his own design, without allowing the peril which he should incur, nor the ruin of the provinces, nor that of his other realms, to prevent him from doing all which a Christian prince was bound to do to maintain the Catholic religion and the authority of the Holy See, as well as to testify his personal regard for the reigning pontiff, whom he so much loved and esteemed.¹

Here was plain-speaking. Here were all the coming horrors distinctly foreshadowed. Here was the truth told to the only being with whom Philip ever was sincere. Yet even on this occasion he permitted himself a falsehood, by which his Holiness was not deceived. Philip had no intention of going to the Netherlands in person, and the pope knew that he had none. "I feel it in my bones," said Granvelle, mournfully, "that nobody in Rome believes in his Majesty's journey to the provinces."² From that time forward, however, the king began to promise this visit, which was held out as a panacea for every ill, and made to serve as an excuse for constant delay.

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 445, 446.

² "Siento en los huesos."—Ibid., 318.

It may well be supposed that if Philip's secret policy had been thoroughly understood in the Netherlands the outbreak would have come sooner. On the receipt, however, of the public despatches from Madrid, the administration in Brussels made great efforts to represent their tenor as highly satisfactory. The papal Inquisition was to be abolished, a pardon was to be granted, a new moderation was to be arranged at some indefinite period; what more would men have? Yet without seeing the face of the cards, the people suspected the real truth, and Orange was convinced of it. Viglius wrote that if the king did not make his intended visit soon, he would come too late, and that every week more harm was done by procrastination than could be repaired by months of labor and perhaps by torrents of blood.¹ What the precise process was through which Philip was to cure all disorders by his simple presence, the president did not explain.

As for the measures propounded by the king after so long a delay, they were of course worse than useless, for events had been marching while he had been musing. The course suggested was, according to Viglius, but "a plaster for a wound, but a drag-chain for the wheel."² He urged that the convocation of the States-General was the only remedy for the perils in which the country was involved, unless the king should come in person. He, however, expressed the hope that by general consultation some means would be devised by which, if not a good, at least a less desperate aspect would be given to public affairs, "so that the commonwealth, if fall it must, might at least fall upon its feet like a cat, and break its legs rather than its neck."³

¹ Ep. ad Joach. Hopperum, 366, 367.

² Ibid., 376.

³ Ibid.

Notwithstanding this highly figurative view of the subject, and notwithstanding the urgent representations of Duchess Margaret to her brother that nobles and people were all clamoring about the necessity of convening the States-General,¹ Philip was true to his instincts on this as on the other questions. He knew very well that the States-General of the Netherlands and Spanish despotism were incompatible ideas, and he recoiled from the idea of the assembly with infinite aversion. At the same time a little wholesome deception could do no harm. He wrote to the duchess, therefore, that he was determined *never to allow* the States-General to be convened. He forbade her to consent to the step under any circumstances, but ordered her to *keep his prohibition a profound secret*. He wished, he said, the people to think that it was only for the moment that the convocation was forbidden, and that the duchess was expecting to receive the necessary permission at another time. It was his desire, he distinctly stated, that the people should not despair of obtaining the assembly, but *he was resolved never to consent* to the step, for he knew very well what was meant by a meeting of the States-General.² Certainly after so ingenuous but secret a declaration from the disciple of Machiavelli, Margaret might well consider the arguments to be used afterward by herself and others, in favor of the ardently desired measure, as quite superfluous.

Such, then, was the policy secretly resolved upon by Philip, even before he heard of the startling events which were afterward to break upon him. He would

¹ Unpublished letter of Margaret of Parma (13th September, 1566), Brussels Archives, before cited.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 439.

maintain the Inquisition and the edicts; he would exterminate the heretics, even if he lost all his realms and his own life in the cause; he would never hear of the national representatives coming together. What then were likely to be his emotions when he should be told of twenty thousand armed heretics assembling at one spot, and fifteen thousand at another, in almost every town in every province, to practise their blasphemous rites; when he should be told of the whirlwind which had swept all the ecclesiastical accumulations of ages out of existence; when he should read Margaret's despairing letters, in which she acknowledged that she had at last committed an act unworthy of God, of her king, and of herself,¹ in permitting liberty of worship to the renegades from the ancient Church!

The account given by the duchess was in truth very dismal. She said that grief consumed her soul and crimson suffused her cheeks while she related the recent transactions. She took God to witness that she had resisted long, that she had passed many sleepless nights, that she had been wasted with fever and grief.² After this penitential preface she confessed that, being a prisoner and almost besieged in her palace, sick in body and soul, she had promised pardon and security to the confederates, with liberty of holding assemblies to heretics in places where the practice had already obtained. These concessions had been made valid until the king, by and with the consent of the States-General, should definitely arrange the matter. She stated, however, that she had given her consent to these two demands,

¹ Strada, v. 222, 223.

² Ibid. Compare Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 187-200. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 452-454.

not in the royal name, but in her own. The king was not bound by her promise, and she *expressed the hope that he would have no regard* to any such obligation. She further implored her brother to come forth as soon as possible to avenge the injuries inflicted upon the ancient Church, adding that if deprived of that consolation she should incontinently depart this life. That hope alone would prevent her death.¹

This was certainly strong language. She was also very explicit in her representations of the influence which had been used by certain personages to prevent the exercise of any authority upon her own part. "Wherefore," said Margaret, "I eat my heart, and shall never have peace till the arrival of your Majesty."²

There was no doubt who those personages were who, as it was pretended, had thus held the duchess in bondage and compelled her to grant these infamous concessions. In her secret Italian letters she furnished the king with a tissue of most extravagant and improbable falsehoods, supplied to her mainly by Noircarmes and Mansfeld, as to the course pursued at this momentous crisis by Orange, Egmont, Horn, and Hoogstraaten. They had all, she said, declared against God and against religion.³ Horn, at least, was for killing all the priests and monks in the country, if full satisfaction were not given to the demands of the heretics. Egmont had declared openly for the beggars, and was levying troops

¹ Strada, ubi sup. Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, ubi sup. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. ubi sup.

² "Pourquoy je me mange le cœur, et n'en serois quitte sans la presence de Vostre Majesté."—Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 202.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 452-454.

in Germany. Orange had the firm intention of making himself master of the whole country, and of dividing it among the other seigniors and himself.¹ The prince had said that if she took refuge in Mons, as she had proposed, they would instantly convoke the States-General and take all necessary measures. Egmont had held the same language, saying that he would march at the head of forty thousand men to besiege her in that city.² All these seigniors, however, had avowed their determination to prevent her flight, to assemble the estates, and to drag her by force before the assembly, in order to compel her consent to every measure which might be deemed expedient.³ Under all these circumstances she had been obliged to defer her retreat, and to make the concessions which had overwhelmed her with disgrace.

With such infamous calumnies, utterly disproved by every fact in the case, and unsupported by a tittle of evidence save the hearsay reports of a man like Noircarmes, did this "woman, nourished at Rome, in whom no one could put confidence,"⁴ dig the graves of men who were doing their best to serve her.

Philip's rage at first hearing of the image-breaking has been indicated. He was ill of an intermittent fever at the wood of Segovia when the news arrived,⁵ and it may well be supposed that his wrath at these proceedings was not likely to assuage his malady. Nevertheless, after the first burst of indignation, he found relief

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 452-454.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 401. Expression of Egmont's.

⁵ Hopper, Rec. et Mém., 104.

in his usual deception. While slowly maturing the most tremendous vengeance which anointed monarch ever deliberately wreaked upon his people, he wrote to say that it was "his intention to treat his vassals and subjects in the provinces like a good and clement prince, not to ruin them nor to put them into servitude, but to exercise all humanity, sweetness, and grace, avoiding all harshness."¹ Such were the avowed intentions of the sovereign toward his people at the moment when the terrible Alva, who was to be the exponent of all this "humanity, sweetness, and grace," was already beginning the preparations for his famous invasion of the Netherlands.

The essence of the compact agreed to upon the 23d August between the confederates and the regent was that the preaching of the Reformed religion should be tolerated in places where it had previously to that date been established. Upon this basis Egmont, Horn, Orange, Hoogstraaten, and others were directed once more to attempt the pacification of the different provinces.

Egmont departed for his government of Flanders, and from that moment vanished all his pretensions, which at best had been slender enough, to the character of a national chieftain. During the whole of the year his course had been changeful. He had felt the influence of Orange; he had generous instincts; he had much vanity; he had the pride of high rank, which did not easily brook the domination of strangers in a land which he considered himself and his compeers entitled by their birth to rule. At this juncture, however, par-

¹ Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 206, 207, Letter of November 27, 1566.

ticularly when in the company of Noircarmes, Berlaymont, and Viglius, he expressed, notwithstanding their calumnious misstatements, the deepest detestation of the heretics.¹ He was a fervent Catholic, and he regarded the image-breaking as an unpardonable crime. "We must take up arms," said he, "sooner or later, to bring these reformers to reason, or they will end by laying down the law for us."² On the other hand, his anger would be often appeased by the grave but gracious remonstrances of Orange. During a part of the summer the reformers had been so strong in Flanders that upon a single day sixty thousand armed men had been assembled at the different field-preachings within that province. "All they needed was a Jacquemart or a Philip van Artevelde," says a Catholic contemporary; "but they would have scorned to march under the banner of a brewer, having dared to raise their eyes for a chief to the most illustrious warrior of his age."³ No doubt, had Egmont ever listened to these aspirations, he might have taken the field against the government with an invincible force, seized the capital, imprisoned the regent, and mastered the whole country, which was entirely defenseless, before Philip would have had time to write more than ten despatches upon the subject.

These hopes of the reformers, if hopes they could be called, were now destined to be most bitterly disappointed. Egmont entered Flanders, not as a chief of rebels, not as a wise pacificator, but as an unscrupulous partizan of government, disposed to take summary vengeance on all suspected persons who should fall in his way. He ordered numerous executions of image-breakers and of other heretics. The whole province

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

was in a state of alarm; for, although he had not been furnished by the regent with a strong body of troops, yet the name of the conqueror at St.-Quentin and Gravelines was worth many regiments. His severity was excessive.¹ His sanguinary exertions were ably seconded also by his secretary, Bakkerzeel, a man who exercised the greatest influence over his chief, and who was now fiercely atoning for having signed the Compromise by persecuting those whom that league had been formed to protect. "Amid all the perplexities of the duchess regent," says a Walloon historian, "this virtuous princess was consoled by the exploits of Bakkerzeel, gentleman in Count Egmont's service. On one occasion he hanged twenty heretics, including a minister, at a single heat."²

Such achievements as these by the hands or the orders of the distinguished general who had been most absurdly held up as a possible protector of the civil and religious liberties of the country created profound sensation. Flanders and Artois were filled with the wives and children of suspected thousands who had fled the country to escape the wrath of Egmont.³ The cries and piteous lamentations of these unfortunate creatures were heard on every side. Count Louis was earnestly implored to intercede for the persecuted reformers. "You who have been so nobly gifted by Heaven, you who have good will and singular bounty written upon your face," said Utenhove to Louis, "have the power to save these poor victims from the throats of the ravenous

¹ Pontus Payen MS. Compare Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 282-297.

² Renom de France MS., i. 33.

³ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 296, 297.

wolves.”¹ The count responded to the appeal, and strove to soften the severity of Egmont, without, however, producing any very signal effect. Flanders was soon pacified, nor was that important province permitted to enjoy the benefits of the agreement which had been extorted from the duchess. The preachings were forbidden, and the ministers and congregations arrested and chastised, even in places where the custom had been established previously to the 23d August.² Certainly such vigorous exertions upon the part both of master and man did not savor of treason to Philip, and hardly seemed to indicate the final doom of Egmont and Bakkerzeel.

The course of Orange at Antwerp was consistent with his whole career. He honestly came to arrange a pacification, but he knew that this end could be gained only by loyally maintaining the Accord which had been signed between the confederates and the regent. He came back to the city on the 26th August,³ and found order partially reëstablished. The burghers having at last become thoroughly alarmed, and the fury of the image-breakers entirely appeased, it had been comparatively easy to restore tranquillity. The tranquillity, however, rather restored itself, and when the calm had succeeded to the tempest, the placid heads of the burgo-masters once more emerged from the waves.

Three image-breakers, who had been taken in the act, were hanged by order of the magistrates upon the 28th of August.⁴ The presence of Orange gave them courage

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 296, 297.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., ii. 261.

⁴ This is the account of Hoofd, iii. 110, 111. The three rioters were executed, not by command of the prince (as stated by M.

to achieve these executions, which he could not prevent, as the fifth article of the Accord enjoined the chastisement of the rioters. The magistrates chose that the "chastisement" on this occasion should be exemplary, and it was not in the power of Orange to interfere with the regular government of the city when acting according to its laws. The deed was not his, however, and he hastened, in order to obviate the necessity of further violence, to prepare articles of agreement upon the basis of Margaret's concessions. Public preaching according to the Reformed religion had already taken place within the city. Upon the 22d possession had been taken of at least three churches. The senate had deputed Pensionary Wesenbeck to expostulate with the ministers, for the magistrates were at that moment not able to command. Taffin, the Walloon preacher, had been tractable, and had agreed to postpone his exercises. He furthermore had accompanied the pensionary to the cathedral, in order to persuade Hermann Modet that it would be better for him likewise to defer his intended ministrations.¹ They had found that eloquent enthusiast already in the great church, burning with impatience to ascend upon the ruins, and quite unable to resist the temptation of setting a Flemish psalm and preaching a Flemish sermon within the walls which had for so many centuries been vocal only to the Roman tongue and the Roman ritual. All that he would concede to the en-

Groen v. Prinsterer, *Archives et Correspondance*, ii. 261), but by that of the civic authorities—"en alstoen moedt geschept hebbende, ten derden daaghen daar naa, drie van de gevange beeldstormers met de galge, de rest met ballingshap oft anders straffen."—Hoofd, *ubi sup.*

¹ Bor, ii. 85. Hoofd, iii. 102. Wesenbeck.

treaties of his colleague and of the magistrate was that his sermon should be short. In this, however, he had overrated his powers of retention, for the sermon not only became a long one, but he had preached another upon the afternoon of the same day. The city of Antwerp, therefore, was clearly within the seventh clause of the treaty of the 23d August, for preaching had taken place in the cathedral previously to the signing of that Accord.¹

Upon the 2d September, therefore, after many protracted interviews with the heads of the Reformed religion, the prince drew up sixteen articles of agreement between them, the magistrates, and the government, which were duly signed and exchanged.² They were conceived in the true spirit of statesmanship, and could the rulers of the land have elevated themselves to the mental height of William of Nassau, had Philip been capable of comprehending such a mind, the prince, who alone possessed the power in those distracted times of governing the wills of all men, would have enabled the monarch to transmit that beautiful cluster of provinces, without the loss of a single jewel, to the inheritors of his crown.

If the prince were playing a game, he played it honorably. To have conceived the thought of religious toleration in an age of universal dogmatism; to have labored to produce mutual respect among conflicting opinions at a period when many dissenters were as bigoted as the orthodox, and when most reformers fiercely proclaimed, not liberty for every Christian doctrine, but only a new creed in place of all the rest;³ to have admit-

¹ Bor, ii. 85, 86. Hoofd, iii. 102. Wesenbeck.

² Bor, iii. 98, 99, gives the articles.

³ Pontus Payen MS.

ted the possibility of several roads to heaven, when zealots of all creeds would shut up all pathways but their own—if such sentiments and purposes were sins, they would have been ill exchanged for the best virtues of the age. Yet no doubt this was his crying offense in the opinion of many contemporaries. He was now becoming apostate from the ancient Church, but he had long thought that emperors, kings, and popes had taken altogether too much care of men's souls in times past, and had sent too many of them prematurely to their great account. He was equally indisposed to grant full powers for the same purpose to Calvinists, Lutherans, or Anabaptists. "He censured the severity of our theologians," said a Catholic contemporary, accumulating all the religious offenses of the prince in a single paragraph, "because they keep strictly the constitutions of the Church without conceding a single point to their adversaries; he blamed the Calvinists as seditious and unruly people, yet nevertheless had a horror for the imperial edicts which condemned them to death; he said it was a cruel thing to take a man's life for sustaining an erroneous opinion; in short, he fantasied in his imagination a kind of religion, half Catholic, half Reformed, in order to content all persons—a system which would have been adopted could he have had his way."¹ This picture, drawn by one of his most brilliant and bitter enemies, excites our admiration while intended to inspire aversion.

The articles of agreement at Antwerp thus promulgated assigned three churches to the different sects of reformers, stipulated that no attempt should be made by Catholics or Protestants to disturb the religious wor-

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

ship of each other, and provided that neither by mutual taunts in their sermons, nor by singing street ballads, together with improper allusions and overt acts of hostility, should the good-fellowship which ought to reign between brethren and fellow-citizens, even although entertaining different opinions as to religious rites and doctrines, be for the future interrupted.¹

This was the basis upon which the very brief religious peace, broken almost as soon as established, was concluded by William of Orange, not only at Antwerp, but at Utrecht,² Amsterdam,³ and other principal cities within his government.

The prince, however, notwithstanding his unwearied exertions, had slender hopes of a peaceful result. He felt that the last step taken by the Reformation had been off a precipice. He liked not such rapid progress. He knew that the king would never forgive the image-breaking. He felt that he would never recognize the Accord of the 23d August. Sir Thomas Gresham, who, as the representative of the Protestant Queen of England in the great commercial metropolis of Europe, was fully conversant with the turn things were taking, was already advising some other place for the sale of English commodities. He gave notice to his government that commerce would have no security at Antwerp "in those brabbling times." He was on confidential terms with the prince, who invited him to dine upon the 4th September, and caused Pensionary Wesenbeck, who was also present, to read aloud the agreement which was that day to be proclaimed at the town house. Orange expressed himself, however, very doubtfully as to the

¹ Articles in Bor, ii. 98, 99.

² Bor, ii. 101, 102.

³ Ibid., ii. 101.

future prospects of the provinces, and as to the probable temper of the king. "In all his talke," says Gresham, "the Prince saide unto me, 'I know this will nothing contente the King.'" ¹

While Egmont had been thus busied in Flanders, and Orange at Antwerp, Count Horn had been doing his best in the important city of Tournay.² The admiral was not especially gifted with intellect, nor with the power of managing men, but he went there with an honest purpose of seeing the Accord executed, intending, if it should prove practicable, rather to favor the government than the reformers. At the same time, for the purpose of giving satisfaction to the members of "the religion," and of manifesting his sincere desire for a pacification, he accepted lodgings which had been prepared for him at the house of a Calvinist merchant in the city,³ rather than take up his quarters with fierce old Governor Moulbais in the citadel. This gave much offense to the Catholics, and inspired the reformers with the hope of having their preaching inside the town. To this privilege they were entitled, for the practice had already been established there previously to the 23d August.⁴ Nevertheless, at first he was disposed to limit them, in accordance with the wishes of the duchess, to extramural exercises.

Upon his arrival, by a somewhat ominous conjuncture, he had supped with some of the leading citizens in the hall of the "gehenna," or torture-room,⁵ certainly

¹ Burgon, ii. 161, 162.

² Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 362, note.

³ Pasquier de la Barre MS., 36^{vo}.

⁴ Letter of Horn to Duchess of Parma in Foppens, Supplément, ii. 393.

⁵ Pasquier de la Barre MS., 36^{vo}.

not a locality calculated to inspire a healthy appetite. On the following Sunday he had been entertained with a great banquet, at which all the principal burghers were present, held in a house on the market-place.¹ The festivities had been interrupted by a quarrel which had been taking place in the cathedral. Beneath the vaults of that edifice, tradition said that a vast treasure was hidden, and the canons had been known to boast that this buried wealth would be sufficient to rebuild their temple more magnificently than ever, in case of its total destruction.² The admiral had accordingly placed a strong guard in the church as soon as he arrived, and commenced very extensive excavations in search of this imaginary mine. The regent informed her brother that the count was prosecuting this work with the view of appropriating whatever might be found to his own benefit.³ As she knew that he was a ruined man, there seemed no more satisfactory mode of accounting for these proceedings. Horn had, however, expressly stated to her that every penny which should come into his possession from that or any other source would carefully be restored to the rightful owners.⁴ Nothing of consequence was ever found to justify the golden legends of the monks, but in the meantime the money-diggers gave great offense. The canons, naturally alarmed for the safety of their fabulous treasure, had forced the guard by surreptitiously obtaining the countersign from a certain official of the town.⁵ A

¹ De la Barre MS., 42^{vo}.

² Ibid.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 466-468.

⁴ Letter of Horn to Duchess of Parma, Foppens, Supplément, ii. 427. Compare letter of duchess to Horn, p. 408.

⁵ De la Barre MS., 42^{vo}.

quarrel ensued, which ended in the appearance of this personage, together with the commander of the military force on guard in the cathedral, before the banqueting company. The count, in the rough way habitual with him, gave the culprit a sound rebuke for his intermeddling, and threatened, in case the offense were repeated, to have him instantly bound, gagged, and forwarded to Brussels for further punishment.¹ The matter thus satisfactorily adjusted, the banquet proceeded, the merchants present being all delighted at seeing the said official, who was exceedingly unpopular, "so well huffed by the count."² The excavations were continued for a long time, until there seemed danger of destroying the foundation of the church, but only a few bits of money were discovered, with some other articles of small value.³

Horn had taken his apartments in the city in order to be at hand to suppress any tumults and to inspire confidence in the people. He had come to a city where five sixths of the inhabitants⁴ were of the Reformed religion, and he did not, therefore, think it judicious to attempt violently the suppression of their worship. Upon his arrival he had issued a proclamation ordering that all property which might have been pillaged from the religious houses should be instantly restored to the magistracy, under penalty that all who disobeyed the command should "be forthwith strangled at the gibbet." Nothing was brought back, however, for the simple

¹ De la Barre MS., 42^{vo}.

² "Fort joyeux que le contente avoit ainsi espouffé le dict procureur."—*Ibid*.

³ Letter of Horn, Foppens, Supplément, 396.

⁴ De la Barre MS., f. 46–60. Foppens, Supplément, 396.

reason that nothing had been stolen.¹ There was therefore no one to be strangled.

The next step was to publish the Accord of 23d August, and to signify the intention of the admiral to enforce its observance. The preachings were as enthusiastically attended as ever, while the storm which had been raging among the images had in the meantime been entirely allayed. Congregations of fifteen thousand were still going to hear Ambrose Wille in the suburbs, but they were very tranquil in their demeanor.² It was arranged between the admiral and the leaders of the Reformed consistories that three places, to be selected by Horn, should be assigned for their places of worship.³ At these spots, which were outside the walls, permission was given the reformers to build meeting-houses.⁴ To this arrangement the duchess formally gave her consent.⁵

Nicholas Taffin, councilor, in the name of the reformers, made "a brave and elegant harangue" before the magistrates, representing that as on the most moderate computation three quarters of the population were dissenters, as the regent had ordered the construction of the new temples, and as the Catholics retained possession of all the churches in the city, it was no more than fair that the community should bear the expense of the new buildings. It was indignantly replied, however, that Catholics could not be expected to pay for the maintenance of heresy, particularly when they had just been so much exasperated by the image-breaking.

¹ Foppens, Supplément, ii. 382.

² De la Barre MS., 38 sqq.

³ Ibid., 44.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Foppens, Supplément, ii. 407.

Councilor Taffin took nothing, therefore, by his "brave and elegant harangue," saving a small vote of forty livres.

The building was, however, immediately commenced. Many nobles and rich citizens contributed to the work, some making donations in money, others giving quantities of oaks, poplars, elms, and other timber-trees to be used in the construction. The foundation of the first temple, outside the *Porte de Coquerel*, was immediately laid. Vast heaps of broken images and other ornaments of the desecrated churches were most unwisely used for this purpose, and the Catholics were exceedingly enraged at beholding those male and female saints, who had for centuries been placed in such "reverend and elevated positions," fallen so low as to be the foundation-stones of temples whose builders denounced all those holy things as idols.¹

As the autumn began to wane, the people were clamorous for permission to have their preaching inside the city. The new buildings could not be finished before the winter; but in the meantime the camp-meetings were becoming, in the stormy seasons fast approaching, a very inconvenient mode of worship. On the other hand, the duchess was furious at the proposition, and commanded Horn on no account to consent that the interior of Tournay should be profaned by these heretical rites.² It was in vain that the admiral represented the justice of the claim, as these exercises had taken place in several of the city churches previously to the Accord of the 23d of August.³ That agreement had

¹ De la Barre MS., 46 sqq.

² Letter of Duchess of Parma, Foppens, Supplément, ii. 406.

³ Foppens, Supplément, ii. 393.

been made by the duchess only to be broken. She had already received money and the permission to make levies, and was fast assuming a tone very different from the abject demeanor which had characterized her in August. Count Horn had been used even as Egmont, Orange, and Hoogstraaten had been employed, in order that their personal influence with the reformers might be turned to account. The tools and the work accomplished by them were to be thrown away at the most convenient opportunity.

The admiral was placed in a most intolerable position. An honest, commonplace, sullen kind of man, he had come to a city full of heretics, to enforce concessions just made by the government to heresy. He soon found himself watched, paltered with, suspected by the administration at Brussels. Governor Moulbais, in the citadel, who was nominally under his authority, refused obedience to his orders, was evidently receiving secret instructions from the regent, and was determined to cannonade the city into submission at a very early day. Horn required him to pledge himself that no fresh troops should enter the castle. Moulbais swore he would make no such promise to a living soul. The admiral stormed with his usual violence, expressed his regret that his brother Montigny had so bad a lieutenant in the citadel, but could make no impression upon the determined veteran, who knew better than Horn the game which was preparing.¹ Small reinforcements were daily arriving at the castle; the soldiers of the garrison had been heard to boast "that they would soon carve and eat the townsmen's flesh on their dressers,"²

¹ De la Barre MS., 50^{vo}.

² "Ils menheroient leur chair sur leur trestchoir."—*Ibid.*, 24.

and all the good effect from the admiral's proclamation on arriving had completely vanished.

Horn complained bitterly of the situation in which he was placed. He knew himself the mark of incessant and calumnious misrepresentation both at Brussels and Madrid. He had been doing his best, at a momentous crisis, to serve the government without violating its engagements, but he declared himself to be neither theologian nor jurist, and incapable, while suspected and unassisted, of performing a task which the most learned doctors of the council would find impracticable. He would rather, he bitterly exclaimed, endure a siege in any fortress by the Turks than be placed in such a position. He was doing all that he was capable of doing, yet whatever he did was wrong. There was a great difference, he said, between being in a place and talking about it at a distance.¹

In the middle of October he was recalled by the duchess, whose letters had been uniformly so ambiguous that he confessed he was quite unable to divine their meaning.² Before he left the city he committed his most unpardonable crime. Urged by the leaders of the Reformed congregations to permit their exercises in the Clothiers' Hall until their temples should be finished, the count accorded his consent provisionally, and subject to revocation by the regent, to whom the arrangement was immediately to be communicated.

Horn departed, and the reformers took instant possession of the hall. It was found in a very dirty and disorderly condition, encumbered with benches, scaffold-

¹ Letter to Duchess of Parma, Foppens, Supplément, ii. 412, 413.

² Letter of Horn to Philip II., in Foppens, Supplément, ii. 499-506.

ings, stakes, gibbets, and all the machinery used for public executions upon the market-place. A vast body of men went to work with a will, scrubbing, cleaning, whitewashing, and removing all the foul lumber of the hall, singing in chorus, as they did so, the hymns of Clement Marot. By dinner-time the place was ready.¹ The pulpit and benches for the congregation had taken the place of the gibbet timber. It is difficult to comprehend that such work as this was a deadly crime. Nevertheless, Horn, *who was himself a sincere Catholic*, had committed the most mortal of all his offenses against Philip and against God by having countenanced so flagitious a transaction.

The admiral went to Brussels. Secretary de la Torre,² a very second-rate personage, was despatched to Tournay to convey the orders of the regent. Governor Moulbais, now in charge of affairs both civil and military, was to prepare all things for the garrison, which was soon to be despatched under Noircarmes. The duchess had now arms in her hands, and her language was bold. La Torre advised the reformers to be wise "while the rod was yet green and growing, lest it should be gathered for their backs; for it was unbecoming in subjects to make bargains with their king."³

¹ De la Barre MS., 50^{vo}.

² La Torre arrived in Tournay upon the 28th October, 1566, according to the narrative of De la Barre. That manuscript (now in the Brussels Archives, and the only copy known to exist) was afterward laid before the Blood-Council. Secretary La Torre has noted in several places on the margin, "the author lies" ("l'auteur ment"). The passages thus discredited by this very commonplace tool of tyranny have only reference to himself (Pasquier de la Barre MS., f^o 57^{vo}, 59).

³ Renom de France MS., i. c. 23.

There was hardly any decent pretext used in violating the Accord of the 23d August, so soon as the government was strong enough to break it. It was always said that the preachings suppressed had not been established previously to that arrangement; but the preachings had in reality obtained almost everywhere, and were now universally abolished. The ridiculous quibble was also used that in the preachings other religious exercises were not included, whereas it was notorious that they had never been separated. It is, however, a gratuitous task to unravel the deceptions of tyranny when it hardly deigns to disguise itself. The dissimulations which have resisted the influence of centuries are more worthy of serious investigation, and of these the epoch offers us a sufficient supply.

At the close of the year the city of Tournay was completely subjugated and the Reformed religion suppressed. Upon the second day of January, 1567, the Seigneur de Noircarmes arrived before the gates at the head of eleven companies, with orders from Duchess Margaret to strengthen the garrison and disarm the citizens.¹ He gave the magistrates exactly one hour and a half to decide whether they would submit without a murmur.² He expressed an intention of maintaining the Accord of 23d August—a ridiculous affectation under the circumstances, as the event proved. The notables were summoned, submission agreed upon, and within the prescribed time the magistrates came before Noircarmes with an unconditional acceptance of his terms.³ That truculent personage told them, in reply, that they had done wisely, for if they had delayed receiving the garri-

¹ Pasquier de la Barre MS.

² Ibid., 77^{vo}, 78.

³ Ibid. 78^{vo}.

son a minute longer he would have instantly *burned the city to ashes and put every one of the inhabitants to the sword*.¹ He had been fully authorized to do so, and subsequent events were to show, upon more than one dreadful occasion, how capable Noircarmes would have been of fulfilling this menace.

The soldiers, who had made a forced march all night, and who had been firmly persuaded that the city would refuse the terms demanded, were excessively disappointed at being obliged to forego the sack and pillage upon which they had reckoned.² Eight or nine hundred rascally peasants, too, who had followed in the skirts of the regiments, each provided with a great empty bag, which they expected to fill with booty which they might purchase of the soldiers or steal in the midst of the expected carnage and rapine, shared the discontent of the soldiery, by whom they were now driven ignominiously out of the town.³ The citizens were immediately disarmed. All the fine weapons which they had been obliged to purchase at their own expense, when they had been arranged by the magistrates under eight banners for defense of the city against tumult and invasion, were taken from them, the most beautiful cutlasses, carbines, poniards, and pistols being divided by Noircarmes among his officers.⁴ Thus Tournay was tranquillized.

¹ "Disant que la ville estait bien conseillée d'avoir obey à Sa Maj. sans av^r fait quelq^e rebellion, ajoutant que si quelque resistance luy heust este donnée à introduire la garnison, qu'il avoit charge expresse de luy bouter par force et mettre la ville en feu et tous les manans et habitans au fil de l'espée."—De la Barre MS., 78^{vo}.

² Ibid., 79.

³ Ibid., 81.

⁴ Ibid., 91.

During the whole of these proceedings in Flanders, and at Antwerp, Tournay, and Mechlin, the conduct of the duchess had been marked with more than her usual treachery. She had been disavowing acts which the men upon whom she relied in her utmost need had been doing by her authority; she had been affecting to praise their conduct, while she was secretly misrepresenting their actions and maligning their motives; and she had been straining every nerve to make foreign levies, while attempting to amuse the confederates and sectaries with an affectation of elemency.

When Orange complained that she had been censuring his proceedings at Antwerp and holding language unfavorable to his character, she protested that she thoroughly approved his arrangements,—excepting only the two points of the intramural preachings and the permission to heretics of other exercises than sermons,—and that if she were displeased with him he might be sure that she would rather tell him so than speak ill of him behind his back.¹ The prince, who had been compelled by necessity, and fully authorized by the terms of the Accord, to grant those two points which were the vital matter in his arrangements, answered very calmly that he was not so frivolous as to believe in her having used language to his discredit had he not been quite certain of the fact, as he would soon prove by evidence.² Orange was not the man to be deceived as to the position in which he stood, nor as to the character of those with whom he dealt. Margaret wrote, however, in the same vein concerning him to Hoogstraaten, affirming that nothing could be further from her inten-

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 233-235.

² Ibid., 239.

tion than to characterize the proceedings of "her cousin, the Prince of Orange, as contrary to the service of his Majesty; knowing, as she did, how constant had been his affection, and how diligent his actions, in the cause of God and the king."¹ She also sent Councilor d'Assonleville on a special mission to the prince, instructing that smooth personage to inform her said cousin of Orange that he was and always had been "loved and cherished by his Majesty, and that, for herself, she had ever loved him like a brother or a child."²

She wrote to Horn, approving of his conduct in the main, although in obscure terms, and expressing great confidence in his zeal, loyalty, and good intentions.³ She accorded the same praise to Hoogstraaten, while as to Egmont, she was perpetually reproaching him for the suspicions which he seemed obstinately to entertain as to her disposition and that of Philip in regard to his conduct and character.⁴

It has already been partly seen what were her private sentiments and secret representations as to the career of the distinguished personages thus encouraged and commended. Her pictures were painted in daily darkening colors. She told her brother that Orange, Egmont, and Horn were about to place themselves at the head of the confederates, who were to take up arms and had been levying troops; that the Lutheran religion was to be forcibly established, that the whole power of the government was to be placed in the triumvirate thus created by those seigniors, and that Philip was in

¹ La défense du Comte de Hostrate, 95.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 391-397.

³ Foppens, Supplément, ii. 420, 421, 436.

⁴ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 493.

reality to be excluded entirely from those provinces which were his ancient patrimony.¹ All this information she had obtained from Mansfeld, at whom the nobles were constantly sneering as at a faithful valet who would never receive his wages.²

She also informed the king that the scheme for dividing the country was already arranged: that Augustus of Saxony was to have Friesland and Overijssel; Count Brederode, Holland; the dukes of Cleves and Lorraine, Guelders; the King of France, Flanders, Artois, and Hainault, of which territories Egmont was to be perpetual stadholder; the Prince of Orange, Brabant; and so on indefinitely.³ A general massacre of all the Catholics had been arranged by Orange, Horn, and Egmont, to commence as soon as the king should put his foot on shipboard to come to the country.⁴ This last remarkable fact Margaret reported to Philip upon the respectable authority of Noircarmes.⁵

She apologized for having employed the service of these nobles, on the ground of necessity. Their proceedings in Flanders, at Antwerp, Tournay, Mechlin, had been highly reprehensible, and she had been obliged to disavow them in the most important particulars. As for Egmont, she had most unwillingly intrusted forces to his hands for the purpose of putting down the Flemish sectaries. She had been afraid to show a want of confidence in his character, but at the same time she believed that all soldiers under Egmont's orders would be so many enemies to the king.⁶ Notwithstanding his protestations of fidelity to the ancient religion and to

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 460, 461, 455, 456.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., i. 473-476.

⁴ Ibid., i. 484.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., i. 459.

his Majesty, she feared that he was busied with some great plot against God and the king.¹ When we remember the ruthless manner in which the unfortunate count had actually been raging against the seetaries and the sanguinary proofs which he had been giving of his fidelity to "God and the king," it seems almost incredible that Margaret could have written down all these monstrous assertions.

The duchess gave, moreover, repeated warnings to her brother that the nobles were in the habit of obtaining possession of all the correspondence between Madrid and Brussels, and that they spent a vast deal of money in order to read her own and Philip's most private letters.² She warned him, therefore, to be upon his guard, for she believed that almost all their despatches were read.³ Such being the case, and the tenor of those documents being what we have seen it to be, her complaints as to the incredulity⁴ of those seigniors to her affectionate protestations seem quite wonderful.

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 459.

² Ibid., i. 475.

³ Ibid., i. 393.

⁴ Ibid., i. Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. passim.

CHAPTER IX

Position of Orange—The interview at Dendermonde—The supposititious letters of Alava—Views of Egmont—Isolation of Orange—Conduct of Egmont and of Horn—Confederacy of the nobles dissolved—Weak behavior of prominent personages—Watchfulness of Orange—Convocation of States-General demanded—Pamphlet of Orange—City of Valenciennes refuses a garrison—Influence of La Grange and De Bray—City declared in a state of siege—Invested by Noircarmes—Movements to relieve the place—Calvinists defeated at Lannoy and at Watrelots—Elation of the government—The siege pressed more closely—Cruelties practised upon the country people—Courage of the inhabitants—Remonstrance to the Knights of the Fleece—Conduct of Brederode—Orange at Amsterdam—New oath demanded by government—Orange refuses—He offers his resignation of all offices—Meeting at Breda—New “Request” of Brederode—He creates disturbances and levies troops in Antwerp—Conduct of Hoogstraaten—Plans of Brederode—Supposed connivance of Orange—Alarm at Brussels—Tholouse at Austruweel—Brederode in Holland—De Beauvoir defeats Tholouse—Excitement at Antwerp—Determined conduct of Orange—Three days’ tumult at Antwerp suppressed by the wisdom and courage of Orange.

It is necessary to allude to certain important events contemporaneous with those recorded in the last chapter, that the reader may thoroughly understand the position of the leading personages in this great drama at the close of the year 1566.

The Prince of Orange had, as we have seen, been

exerting all his energies faithfully to accomplish the pacification of the commercial metropolis upon the basis assented to beforehand by the duchess. He had established a temporary religious peace, by which alone at that crisis the gathering tempest could be averted; but he had permitted the law to take its course upon certain rioters, who had been regularly condemned by courts of justice. He had worked day and night—notwithstanding immense obstacles, calumnious misstatements, and conflicting opinions—to restore order out of chaos; he had freely imperiled his own life, dashing into a tumultuous mob on one occasion, wounding several with the halberd which he snatched from one of his guard,¹ and dispersing almost with his single arm a dangerous and threatening insurrection; and he had remained in Antwerp, at the pressing solicitations of the magistracy, who represented that the lives of not a single ecclesiastic would be safe as soon as his back was turned, and that all the merchants would forthwith depart from the city.² It was nevertheless necessary that he should make a personal visit to his government of Holland, where similar disorders had been prevailing, and where men of all ranks and parties were clamoring for their stadholder.

Notwithstanding all his exertions, however, he was thoroughly aware of the position in which he stood toward the government. The sugared phrases of Margaret, the deliberate commendation of the “benign and debonair” Philip, produced no effect upon this statesman, who was accustomed to look through and through

¹ Antwerpsch Chronike, p. 96; cited by Groen van Prinsterer, ii. 310.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 239.

men's actions to the core of their hearts. In the hearts of Philip and Margaret he already saw treachery and revenge indelibly imprinted. He had been especially indignant at the insult which the duchess regent had put upon him by sending Duke Eric of Brunswick with an armed force into Holland in order to protect Gouda, Woerden, and other places within the prince's own government.¹ He was thoroughly conversant with the general tone in which the other seigniors and himself were described to their sovereign. He was already convinced that the country was to be conquered by foreign mercenaries, and that his own life, with those of many other nobles, was to be sacrificed.² The moment had arrived in which he was justified in looking about him for means of defense, both for himself and his country, if the king should be so insane as to carry out the purposes which the prince suspected. The time was fast approaching in which a statesman placed upon such an elevation before the world as that which he occupied would be obliged to choose his part for life. To be the unscrupulous tool of tyranny, a rebel, or an exile, was his necessary fate. To a man so prone to read the future, the moment for his choice seemed already arrived. Moreover, he thought it doubtful, and events were most signally to justify his doubts, whether he could be accepted as the instrument of despotism, even were he inclined to prostitute himself to such service. At this point, therefore, undoubtedly began the treasonable thoughts of William the Silent, if it be treason to attempt the protection of ancient and chartered liberties against a foreign oppressor. He despatched a

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 322-326.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 391-397.

private envoy to Egmont,¹ representing the grave suspicions manifested by the duchess in sending Duke Eric into Holland, and proposing that means should be taken into consideration for obviating the dangers with which the country was menaced. Catholics as well as Protestants, he intimated, were to be crushed in one universal conquest as soon as Philip had completed the formidable preparations which he was making for invading the provinces. For himself, he said, he would not remain in the land to witness the utter desolation of the people, nor to fall an unresisting victim to the vengeance which he foresaw. If, however, he might rely upon the co-operation of Egmont and Horn, he was willing, with the advice of the States-General, to risk preparations against the armed invasion of Spaniards by which the country was to be reduced to slavery. It was incumbent, however, upon men placed as they were, "not to let the grass grow under their feet," and the moment for action was fast approaching.²

This was the scheme which Orange was willing to attempt. To make use of his own influence and that of his friends, to interpose between a sovereign insane with bigotry and a people in a state of religious frenzy, to resist brutal violence if need should be by force, and to compel the sovereign to respect the charters which he had sworn to maintain, and which were far more ancient than his sovereignty—so much of treason did William of Orange already contemplate, for in no other way could he be loyal to his country and his own honor.

Nothing came of this secret embassy, for Egmont's heart and fate were already fixed. Before Orange de-

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., ii. 323–326.

² Ibid.

parted, however, for the north, where his presence in the Dutch provinces was now imperatively required, a memorable interview took place at Dendermonde between Orange, Horn, Egmont, Hoogstraaten, and Count Louis.¹ The nature of this conference was probably similar to that of the secret mission from Orange to Egmont just recorded. It was not a long consultation. The gentlemen met at eleven o'clock, and conversed until dinner was ready, which was between twelve and one in the afternoon. They discussed the contents of a letter recently received by Horn from his brother Montigny at Segovia, giving a lively picture of Philip's fury at the recent events in the Netherlands, and expressing the baron's own astonishment and indignation that it had been impossible for the seigniors to prevent such outrages as the public preaching, the image-breaking, and the Accord. They had also some conversation concerning the dissatisfaction manifested by the duchess at the proceedings of Count Horn at Tournay, and they read a very remarkable letter which had been furnished them as having been written by the Spanish envoy in Paris, Don Francis of Alava, to Margaret of Parma. This letter was forged. At least, the regent, in her Italian correspondence, asserted it to be fictitious,² and in those secret letters to Philip she usually told the truth. The astuteness of William of Orange had in this instance been deceived. The striking fidelity, how-

¹ Foppens, *Supplément*, i. (*Procès d'Egmont*) 73-76, 166-170 (*Procès de Hornes*). Groen v. Prinse, ii. 360 sqq. *Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit.*, ii., Introduction of Gachard, 74 sqq. Compare Bor, ii. 108; Hoofd, ii. 114; Strada, v. 230 sqq.; Benvoglio, iii. 42 sqq.; *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 474-476.

² *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 476.

ever, with which the present and future policy of the government was sketched, the accuracy with which many unborn events were foreshadowed, together with the minute touches which gave an air of genuineness to the fictitious despatch, might well deceive even so sagacious an observer as the prince.

The letters¹ alluded to the deep and long-settled hostility of Philip to Orange, Horn, and Egmont, as to a fact entirely within the writer's knowledge and that of his correspondent, but urged upon the duchess the assumption of an extraordinary degree of apparent cordiality in her intercourse with them. It was the king's intention to use them and to destroy them, said the writer, and it was the regent's duty to second the design. "The tumults and troubles have not been without their secret concurrence," said the supposititious Alava, "and your Highness may rest assured that they will be the first upon whom his Majesty will seize, not to confer benefits, but to chastise them as they deserve. Your Highness, however, should show no symptom of displeasure, but should constantly maintain in their minds the idea that his Majesty considers them as the most faithful of his servants. While they are persuaded of this, they can be more easily used, but when the time comes they will be treated in another manner. Your Highness may rest assured that his Majesty is not less inclined than your Highness that they should receive the punishment which they merit."² The duchess was furthermore recommended "to deal with the three seigniors according to the example of the Spanish government

¹ The letters are given by Bor, ii. 109, 110, without a doubt as to their genuineness.

² Bor, ubi sup.

in its intercourse with the envoys Berghen and Montigny, who are met with a smiling face, but who are closely watched, and who will never be permitted to leave Spain alive.”¹ The remainder of the letter alludes to supposed engagements between France and Spain for the extirpation of heresy, from which allusion to the generally accepted but mistaken notion as to the Bayonne conference, a decided proof seems to be furnished that the letter was not genuine. Great complaints, however, are made as to the conduct of the queen regent, who is described as “a certain lady well known to her Highness,” and as “a person without faith, friendship, or truth; the most consummate hypocrite in the world.” After giving instances of the duplicity manifested by Catherine de’ Medici, the writer continues: “She sends her little black dwarf to me upon frequent errands, in order that by means of this spy she may worm out my secrets. I am, however, upon my guard, and flatter myself that I learn more from him than she from me. She shall never be able to boast of having deceived a Spaniard.”²

An extract or two from this very celebrated document seemed indispensable, because of the great importance attached to it, both at the Dendermonde conference and at the trials of Egmont and Horn. The contemporary writers of Holland had no doubt of its genuineness, and, what is more remarkable, Strada, the historiographer of the Farnese family, after quoting Margaret’s denial of the authenticity of the letter, coolly observes: “Whether this were only an invention of the conspirators, or actually a despatch from Alava, I shall not decide. It is certain, however, that the duchess *declared* it to be false.”³

¹ Bor, ubi sup.

² Ibid.

³ Strada, v. 231.

Certainly, as we read the epistles, and observe how profoundly the writer seems to have sounded the deep guile of the Spanish cabinet, and how distinctly events then far in the future are indicated, we are tempted to exclaim: "Aut Alava, aut Diabolus"; either the envoy wrote the despatch, or Orange. Who else could look into the future and into Philip's heart so unerringly?

As the charge has never been made, so far as we are aware, against the prince, it is superfluous to discuss the amount of immorality which should belong to such a deception. A tendency to employ stratagem in his warfare against Spain was, no doubt, a blemish upon his high character. Before he is condemned, however, in the court of conscience, the ineffable wiles of the policy with which he had to combat must be thoroughly scanned, as well as the pure and lofty purpose for which his life's long battle was fought.

There was doubtless some conversation at Dendermonde on the propriety or possibility of forcible resistance to a Spanish army, with which it seemed probable that Philip was about to invade the provinces and take the lives of the leading nobles. Count Louis was in favor of making provision in Germany for the accomplishment of this purpose. It is also highly probable that the prince may have encouraged the proposition. In the sense of his former communication to Egmont, he may have reasoned on the necessity of making levies to sustain the decisions of the States-General against violence. There is, however, no proof of any such fact. Egmont, at any rate, opposed the scheme, on the ground that "it was wrong to entertain any such ill opinion of so good a king as Philip, that he had never done anything unjust toward his subjects, and that if any one

was in fear, he had better leave the country.”¹ Egmont, moreover, doubted the authenticity of the letters from Alava, but agreed to carry them to Brussels and to lay them before the regent. That lady, when she saw them, warmly assured the count that they were inventions.²

The conference broke up after it had lasted an hour and a half. The nobles then went to dinner, at which other persons appear to have been present, and the celebrated Dendermonde meeting was brought to a close. After the repast was finished, each of the five nobles mounted his horse and departed on his separate way.³

From this time forth the position of these leading seigniors became more sharply defined. Orange was left in almost complete isolation. Without the assistance of Egmont any effective resistance to the impending invasion from Spain seemed out of the question. The count, however, had taken his irrevocable and fatal resolution. After various oscillations during the stormy period which had elapsed, his mind, notwithstanding all the disturbing causes by which it had hitherto been partially influenced, now pointed steadily to the point of loyalty. The guidance of that pole-star was to lead him to utter shipwreck. The unfortunate noble, intrenched against all fear of Philip by the brazen wall of an easy conscience, saw no fault in his past at which he should grow pale with apprehension. Moreover, he

¹ Procès d'Egmont, Foppens, i. 75.

² Letter of Egmont in Groen v. Prinst., Archives, ii. 400, 401.

³ Procès d'Egmont, 73-76; Procès de Hornes, 166-170, Foppens, Supplément. Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii., Introduction of M. Gachard, lxxiv. sqq. Compare Bor, ii. 108; Hoofd, iii. 114; Strada, v. 230 sqq.; Bentivoglio, iii. 42 sqq.; Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 474-476.

was sanguine by nature, a Catholic in religion, a royalist from habit and conviction. Henceforth he was determined that his services to the crown should more than counterbalance any idle speeches or insolent demonstrations of which he might have been previously guilty.

Horn pursued a different course, but one which separated him also from the prince, while it led to the same fate which Egmont was blindly pursuing. The admiral had committed no act of treason. On the contrary, he had been doing his best, under most difficult circumstances, to avert rebellion and save the interests of a most ungrateful sovereign. He was now disposed to wrap himself in his virtue, to retreat from a court life, for which he had never felt a vocation,¹ and to resign all connection with a government by which he felt himself very badly treated. Moody, wrathful, disappointed, ruined, and calumniated, he would no longer keep terms with king or duchess. He had griefs of long standing against the whole of the royal family. He had never forgiven the emperor for refusing him, when young, the appointment of chamberlain.² He had served Philip long and faithfully, but he had never received a stiver of salary or merced, notwithstanding all his work as state counselor, as admiral, as superintendent in Spain, while his younger brother had long been in receipt of nine or ten thousand florins yearly. He had spent four hundred thousand florins in the king's service; his estates were mortgaged to their full value; he had been obliged to sell his family plate.³ He had done his best

¹ "Aiant par trop cognu n'estre ma vocation estre en court," etc.—Letter of Horn to his secretary, Alonzo de la Loo, Foppens, ii. 470, 471.

² Renom de France MS., i. c. 31.

³ Ibid.

in Tournay to serve the duchess, and he had averted the Sicilian Vespers, which had been imminent at his arrival.¹ He had saved the Catholics from a general massacre, yet he heard nevertheless from Montigny that all his actions were distorted in Spain and his motives blackened.² His heart no longer inclined him to continue in Philip's service, even were he furnished with the means of doing so. He had instructed his secretary, Alonzo de la Loo, whom he had despatched many months previously to Madrid, that he was no longer to press his master's claims for a merced, but to signify that he abandoned all demands and resigned all posts. He could turn hermit for the rest of his days, as well as the Emperor Charles.³ If he had little, he could live upon little. It was in this sense that he spoke to Margaret of Parma, to Assonleville, to all around him. It was precisely in this strain and temper that he wrote to Philip, indignantly defending his course at Tournay, protesting against the tortuous conduct of the duchess, and bluntly declaring that he would treat no longer with ladies upon matters which concerned a man's honor.⁴

Thus, smarting under a sense of gross injustice, the admiral expressed himself in terms which Philip was not likely to forgive. He had undertaken the pacification of Tournay, because it was Montigny's government, and he had promised his services whenever they should be requisite. Horn was a loyal and affectionate brother, and it is pathetic to find him congratulating Montigny on being, after all, better off in Spain than in the

¹ Renom de France MS., i. c. 31.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. Foppens, Supplément, ii. 506-509.

⁴ Foppens, Supplément, ii. 501-505.

Netherlands.¹ Neither loyalty nor the sincere Catholicism for which Montigny at this period commended Horn in his private letters² could save the two brothers from the doom which was now fast approaching.

Thus Horn, blind as Egmont,—not being aware that a single step beyond implicit obedience had created an impassable gulf between Philip and himself,—resolved to meet his destiny in sullen retirement. Not an entirely disinterested man, perhaps, but an honest one as the world went, mediocre in mind, but brave, generous, and direct of purpose, goaded by the shafts of calumny, hunted down by the whole pack which fawned upon power as it grew more powerful, he now retreated to his “desert,” as he called his ruined home at Weerdt,³ where he stood at bay, growling defiance at the regent, at Philip, at all the world.

Thus were the two prominent personages upon whose coöperation Orange had hitherto endeavored to rely entirely separated from him. The confederacy of nobles, too, was dissolved, having accomplished little, notwithstanding all its noisy demonstrations, and having lost all credit with the people by the formal cassation of the

¹ “Pour fasché que estes là, estes plus à votre aise que ici.”—Letter to Montigny, Foppens, ii. 496.

² “J’ai reçu ung grand contentement de l’assurance que me donnez, que nuls ne basteront de vous faire changer d’opinion, en chose qui touche le fait de la religion ancienne, qui est certes conforme à ce que j’en ay tousjours ferement pensé et cru, ors que le diable est subtil, et ses ministres. Je n’ay failly de le faire entendre aux lieux que m’avez escrit.”—Montigny to Horn, 26th May, 1567.

The whole letter is published in Willems, *Mengelingen van Historisch Vaderlandschen Inhoud* (Antwerpen, 1827–30), pp. 325–334.

³ Procès de Hornes, Foppens, Supplément.

Compromise in consequence of the Accord of August.¹ As a body, they had justified the sarcasm of Hubert Languet that "the confederated nobles had ruined their country by their folly and incapacity." They had profaned a holy cause by indecent orgies, compromised it by seditious demonstrations, abandoned it when most in need of assistance. Bakkerzeel had distinguished himself by hanging sectaries in Flanders. "Golden Fleece" de Hammes, after creating great scandal in and about Antwerp since the Accord, had ended by accepting an artillery commission in the emperor's army, together with three hundred crowns for convoy from Duchess Margaret.² Culemburg was serving the cause of religious freedom by defacing the churches within his ancestral domains, pulling down statues, dining in chapels, and giving the holy wafer to his parrot.³ Nothing could be more stupid than these acts of irreverence, by which Catholics were offended and honest patriots disgusted. Nothing could be more opposed to the sentiments of Orange, whose first principle was abstinence by all denominations of Christians from mutual insults. At the same time, it is somewhat revolting to observe the indignation with which such offenses were regarded

¹ Groen v. Prinst., ii. 282.

² Unpublished letter, 13th September, Margaret of Parma to Philip II., Brussels Archives MS. The duchess expressed great regret that she was prohibited by the statutes of the order of which De Hammes was a servant or official from arresting and punishing him for his crimes. Her legal advisers, Viglius, Assonleville, and the rest, were to make new discoveries with regard to these privileges, when not servants merely, but illustrious chevaliers of the order, were to be put to death. Compare Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 463.

³ Ibid., i. 472, 480, 481.

by men of the most abandoned character. Thus, Armenteros, whose name was synonymous with government swindling, who had been rolling up money year after year by peculations, auctioneering of high posts in church and state, bribes, and all kinds of picking and stealing, could not contain his horror as he referred to wafers eaten by parrots or "toasted on forks"¹ by renegade priests, and poured out his emotions on the subject into the faithful bosom of Antonio Perez, the man with whose debaucheries, political villainies, and deliberate murders all Europe was to ring.

No doubt there were many individuals in the confederacy for whom it was reserved to render honorable service in the national cause. The names of Louis of Nassau, Marnix of Sainte-Aldegonde, Bernard de Merode, were to be written in golden letters in their country's rolls; but at this moment they were impatient, inconsiderate, out of the control of Orange. Louis was anxious for the king to come from Spain with his army, and for "the bear-dance to begin."² Brederode, noisy, bawling, and absurd as ever, was bringing ridicule upon the national cause by his buffoonery, and endangering the whole people by his inadequate yet rebellious exertions.

What course was the Prince of Orange to adopt? He could find no one to comprehend his views. He felt certain at the close of the year that the purpose of the government was fixed. He made no secret of his determination never to lend himself as an instrument for the contemplated subjugation of the people. He had

¹ "Asar en un asador."—Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 480, 481, Tomas Armenteros to Antonio Perez.

² Archives et Correspondance, ii. 309.

repeatedly resigned all his offices. He was now determined that the resignation once for all should be accepted. If he used dissimulation, it was because Philip's deception permitted no man to be frank. If the sovereign constantly disavowed all hostile purposes against his people, and manifested extreme affection for the men whom he had already doomed to the scaffold, how could the prince openly denounce him? It was his duty to save his country and his friends from impending ruin. He preserved, therefore, an attitude of watchfulness. Philip, in the depth of his cabinet, was under a constant inspection by the sleepless prince. The sovereign assured his sister that her apprehensions about their correspondence were groundless. He always locked up his papers, and took the key with him.¹ Nevertheless, the key was taken out of his pocket and the papers read. Orange was accustomed to observe that men of leisure might occupy themselves with philosophical pursuits and with the secrets of nature, but that it was his business to study the hearts of kings.² He knew the man and the woman with whom he had to deal. We have seen enough of the policy secretly pursued by Philip and Margaret to appreciate the accuracy with which the prince, groping as it were in the dark, had judged the whole situation. Had his friends taken his warnings, they might have lived to render services against tyranny. Had he imitated their example of false loyalty there would have been one additional victim, more illustrious than all the rest, and a whole country hopelessly enslaved.

It is by keeping these considerations in view that we

¹ Foppens, *Supplément*, ii. 512.

² Strada, v. 234.

can explain his connection with such a man as Brederode. The enterprises of that noble, of Tholouse and others, and the resistance of Valenciennes, could hardly have been prevented even by the opposition of the prince. But why should he take the field against men who, however rashly or ineffectually, were endeavoring to oppose tyranny, when he knew himself already proscribed and doomed by the tyrant? Such loyalty he left to Egmont. Till late in the autumn he had still believed in the possibility of convoking the States-General, and of making preparations in Germany to enforce their decrees.

The confederates and sectaries had boasted that they could easily raise an army of sixty thousand men within the provinces,¹ that twelve hundred thousand florins monthly would be furnished by the rich merchants of Antwerp,² and that it was ridiculous to suppose that the German mercenaries enrolled by the duchess in Saxony, Hesse, and other Protestant countries would ever render serious assistance against the adherents of the Reformed religion.³ Without placing much confidence in such exaggerated statements, the prince might well be justified in believing himself strong enough, if backed by the confederacy, by Egmont, and by his own bound-

¹ "Mesmes osent aucuns des confederez et sectaires menasser d'oser d'armes et force contre moi. . . . Se vantans que l'on fera venir en armes contre moy cinquante ou soixante mil hommes de ces pays sans les estrangers."—Unpublished letter of Margaret of Parma, heretofore cited, Brussels Archives MS.

² "Disans avoir les bourses des marchans d'Anvers qui en ce cas leur furniront par mois plus de xii^e mil florins," etc.—Ibid.

³ "Que en fait de la religion les dits Alemans les favoriseront oires qu'ilz soient en la souldre de V^{re} Mat^e et consequemment oseront plus tot barbouiller quelque chose."—Ibid.

less influence, both at Antwerp and in his own government, to sustain the constituted authorities of the nation even against a Spanish army, and to interpose with legitimate and irresistible strength between the insane tyrant and the country which he was preparing to crush. It was the opinion of the best-informed Catholics that, if Egmont should declare for the confederacy, he could take the field with sixty thousand men and make himself master of the whole country at a blow.¹ In conjunction with Orange, the moral and physical force would have been invincible.

It was therefore not Orange alone, but the Catholics and Protestants alike, the whole population of the country, and the duchess regent herself, who desired the convocation of the estates. Notwithstanding Philip's deliberate but secret determination never to assemble that body, although the hope was ever to be held out that they should be convened, Margaret had been most importunate that her brother should permit the measure. "There was less danger," she felt herself compelled to say, "in assembling than in not assembling the states; it was better to preserve the Catholic religion for a part of the country than to lose it altogether."² "The more it was delayed," she said, "the more ruinous and desperate became the public affairs. If the measure were postponed much longer, all Flanders, half Brabant, the whole of Holland, Zealand, Guelders, Tournay, Lille,

¹ "Vous l'eussiez veu marcher en campagne avec une armée de 60,000 hommes et avoir reduit en sa puissance la ville de Bruxelles . . . par un exploit soudain se fust aisement emparé de la principauté du Pays-Bas," etc.—Pontus Payen MS.

² "C'est moins mal les assembler que point assembler," etc.—Unpublished letter of Duchess of Parma.

Mechlin, would be lost forever, without a chance of ever restoring the ancient religion.”¹ The country, in short, was “without faith, king, or law,”² and nothing worse could be apprehended from any deliberation of the States-General. These being the opinions of the duchess, and according to her statement those of nearly all the good Catholics in the country, it could hardly seem astonishing or treasonable that the prince should also be in favor of the measure.

As the duchess grew stronger, however, and as the people, aghast at the fate of Tournay and Valenciennes, began to lose courage, she saw less reason for assembling the states. Orange, on the other hand, completely deserted by Egmont and Horn, and having little confidence in the characters of the ex-confederates, remained comparatively quiescent, but watchful.

At the close of the year an important pamphlet³ from his hand was circulated, in which his views as to the necessity of allowing some degree of religious freedom were urged upon the royal government with his usual sagacity of thought, moderation of language, and modesty in tone. The man who had held the most important civil and military offices in the country almost from boyhood, and who was looked up to by friend and foe as the most important personage in the three millions of its inhabitants, apologized for his “presumption” in coming forward publicly with his advice. “I would not,” he said, “in matters of such importance, affect to

¹ Unpublished letter of Duchess of Parma.

² “Estant quasi tout le pays sans foy, roy et loy, et le peu que demeure entier s'en va journellement empirant.”—*Ibid.*

³ Archives et Correspondance, ii. 429–450. Compare Hopper, *Rec. et Mém.*, iii. It is also given in Bor, iii. 131–133.

be wiser or to make greater pretensions than my age or experience warrants, yet seeing affairs in such perplexity, I will rather incur the risk of being charged with forwardness than neglect that which I consider my duty."¹

This, then, was the attitude of the principal personages in the Netherlands and the situation of affairs at the end of the eventful year 1566, the last year of peace which the men then living or their children were to know. The government, weak at the commencement, was strong at the close. The confederacy was broken and scattered. The Request, the beggar banquets, the public preaching, the image-breaking, the Accord of August, had been followed by reaction. Tournay had accepted its garrison. Egmont, completely obedient to the crown, was compelling all the cities of Flanders and Artois to receive soldiers sufficient to maintain implicit obedience and to extinguish all heretical demonstrations, so that the regent was at comparative leisure to effect the reduction of Valenciennes.

This ancient city, in the province of Hainault, and on the frontier of France, had been founded by the Emperor Valentinian, from whom it had derived its name.² Originally established by him as a city of refuge, it had received the privilege of affording an asylum to debtors, to outlaws, and even to murderers. This ancient right had been continued, under certain modifications, even till the period with which we are now occupied.³ Never, however, according to the government, had the right of asylum, even in the wildest times, been so abused by the city before. What were debtors, robbers, murderers,

¹ Archives et Correspondance, ii. 430, 431.

² Guicciardini, 458 sqq.

³ Ibid.

compared to hereties? yet these worst enemies of their race swarmed in the rebellious city, practising even now the foulest rites of Calvin, and obeying those most pestilential of all preachers, Guido de Bray and Peregrine de la Grange. The place was the hotbed of heresy and sedition, and it seemed to be agreed, as by common accord, that the last struggle for what was called the new religion should take place beneath its walls.¹

Pleasantly situated in a fertile valley, provided with very strong fortifications and very deep moats, Valenciennes, with the Schelde flowing through its center, and furnishing the means of laying the circumjacent meadows under water, was considered in those days almost impregnable.² The city was summoned, almost at the same time as Tournay, to accept a garrison. This demand of government was met by a peremptory refusal. Noircarmes, toward the middle of December, ordered the magistrates to send a deputation to confer with him at Condé. Pensionary Outreman accordingly repaired to that neighboring city, accompanied by some of his colleagues.³ This committee was not unfavorable to the demands of government. The magistracies of the cities, generally, were far from rebellious; but in the case of Valenciennes the real power at that moment was with the Calvinist consistory and the ministers. The deputies, after their return from Condé, summoned the leading members of the Reformed religion, together with the preachers. It was urged that it was their duty

¹ “ . . . Il sembloit que de la fortune de Valenciennes dependoit celle de toute la gueuserie.”—Valenciennes MS.

² Guicciardini, *ubi supra*.

³ Valenciennes MS.

forthwith to use their influence in favor of the demand made by the government upon the city.¹

"May I grow mute as a fish," answered De la Grange, stoutly, "may the tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, before I persuade my people to accept a garrison of cruel mercenaries, by whom their rights of conscience are to be trampled upon!"²

Councilor Outreman reasoned with the fiery minister that if he and his colleague were afraid of their own lives, ample provision should be made with government for their departure under safe-conduct. La Grange replied that he had no fears for himself, that the Lord would protect those who preached and those who believed in his holy Word, but that he would not forgive them should they now bend their necks to his enemies.³

It was soon very obvious that no arrangement could be made. The magistrates could exert no authority, the preachers were all-powerful, and the citizens, said a Catholic inhabitant of Valenciennes, "allowed themselves to be led by their ministers like oxen."⁴ Upon the 17th December, 1566, a proclamation was accordingly issued by the duchess regent, declaring the city in a state of siege, and all its inhabitants rebels.⁵ The crimes for which this penalty was denounced were elaborately set forth in the edict. Preaching according to the Reformed religion had been permitted in two or three churches, the sacrament according to the Calvinistic manner had been publicly administered, together with a renunciation by the communicants of their ad-

¹ Valenciennes MS.

² Ibid. Pontus Payen MS.

³ Ibid. Ibid.

⁴ Valenciennes MS.

⁵ The proclamation is given in Bor, iii. 134-136.

hesion to the Catholic Church, and now a rebellious refusal to receive the garrison sent to them by the duchess had been added to the list of their iniquities. For offenses like these the regent deemed it her duty to forbid all inhabitants of any city, village, or province of the Netherlands holding communication with Valenciennes, buying or selling with its inhabitants, or furnishing them with provisions, on pain of being considered accomplices in their rebellion, and as such of being executed with the halter.¹

The city was now invested by Noircarmes with all the troops which could be spared. The confederates gave promises of assistance to the beleaguered citizens; Orange privately encouraged them to hold out in their legitimate refusal;² Brederode and others busied themselves with hostile demonstrations which were destined to remain barren; but in the meantime the inhabitants had nothing to rely upon save their own stout hearts and arms.

At first the siege was sustained with a light heart. Frequent sallies were made, smart skirmishes were ventured, in which the Huguenots, on the testimony of a most bitter Catholic contemporary, conducted themselves with the bravery of veteran troops, and as if they had done nothing all their lives but fight;³ forays were made upon the monasteries of the neighborhood for the purpose of procuring supplies, and the broken statues

¹ Proclamation in Bor, *ubi sup.*

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., Preface, cxlix., cl., notes.

³ "Sortoient journellement aux escarmouches combattans avec hardiesse et dexterité comme si toute leur vie n'eussent faict aultre chose que porter les armes."—Pontus Payen MS.

of the dismantled churches were used to build a bridge across an arm of the river, which was called in derision the Bridge of Idols.¹ Noircarmes and the six officers under him, who were thought to be conducting their operations with languor, were christened the "seven sleepers."² Gigantic spectacles, three feet in circumference, were planted derisively upon the ramparts, in order that the artillery, which it was said that the papists of Arras were sending, might be seen as soon as it should arrive.³ Councilor Outreman, who had left the city before the siege, came into it again, on commission from Noircarmes. He was received with contempt; his proposals on behalf of the government were answered with outcries of fury; he was pelted with stones, and was very glad to make his escape alive.⁴ The pulpits thundered with the valiant deeds of Joshua, Judas Maccabæus, and other Bible heroes.⁵ The miracles wrought in their behalf served to encourage the enthusiasm of the people, while the movements making at various points in the neighborhood encouraged a hope of a general rising throughout the country.

Those hopes were destined to disappointment. There were large assemblages made, to be sure, at two points. Nearly three thousand sectaries had been collected at

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² "Les gueux les appelloient les sept dormans."—Valenciennes MS.

³ "Ils avoient ficez sur leurs ramparts de fort longues pieques et au bout d'icelles attaché de fort grandes lunettes aintes trois pieds en diametre, et quand on leur demandoit à quoy elles servaient, respondaient joyeusement que c'estoit pour descouvrir de plus long l'artillerie que les papistes d'Arras devoient envoyer," etc.—Pontus Payen MS.

⁴ Valenciennes MS.

⁵ Ibid.

Lannoy under Pierre Cornaille, who, having been a locksmith and afterward a Calvinist preacher, was now disposed to try his fortune as a general.¹ His band was, however, disorderly. Rustics armed with pitchforks, young students and old soldiers out of employment, furnished with rusty matchlocks, pikes, and halberds, composed his force.² A company similar in character, and already amounting to some twelve hundred in number, was collecting at Watrelots.³ It was hoped that an imposing array would soon be assembled, and that the two bands, making a junction, would then march to the relief of Valenciennes. It was boasted that in a very short time thirty thousand men would be in the field.⁴ There was even a fear of some such result felt by the Catholics.

It was then that Noircarmes and his "seven sleepers" showed that they were awake. Early in January, 1567, that fierce soldier, among whose vices slothfulness was certainly never reckoned before or afterward, fell upon the locksmith's army at Lannoy, while the Seigneur de Rassingham attacked the force at Watrelots on the same day.⁵ Noircarmes destroyed half his enemies at the very first charge. The ill-assorted rabble fell asunder at once. The preacher fought well, but his undisciplined force fled at the first sight of the enemy. Those who carried harquebuses threw them down without a single discharge, that they might run the faster. At least a thousand were soon stretched dead upon the

¹ Valenciennes MS. Pontus Payen MS.

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. Valenciennes MS. Compare Hoofd, iii. 125; Strada, vi. 256, 257; Vit. Viglii, 49,

field; others were hunted into the river. Twenty-six hundred, according to the Catholic accounts, were exterminated in an hour.¹

Rassinghem, on his part, with five or six hundred regulars, attacked Teriel's force, numbering at least twice as many. Half of these were soon cut to pieces and put to flight. Six hundred, however, who had seen some service, took refuge in the cemetery of Watrelots. Here, from behind the stone wall of the inclosure, they sustained the attack of the Catholics with some spirit.² The repose of the dead in the quiet country churchyard was disturbed by the uproar of a most sanguinary conflict. The temporary fort was soon carried, and the Huguenots retreated into the church. A rattling harquebusade was poured in upon them as they struggled in the narrow doorway.³ At least four hundred corpses were soon strewn among the ancient graves. The rest were hunted into the church, and from the church into the belfry. A fire was then made in the steeple and kept up till all were roasted or suffocated.⁴ Not a man escaped.

This was the issue in the first stricken field in the Netherlands for the cause of religious liberty. It must be confessed that it was not very encouraging to the lovers of freedom. The partizans of government were elated in proportion to the apprehension which had been felt for the result of this rising in the Walloon country. "These good hypocrites," wrote a correspondent of Orange, "are lifting up their heads like so many dromedaries. They are becoming unmanageable

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., iii. 7, 8. Compare Strada, ubi sup.; Hoofd, ubi sup.; Pontus Payen MS.

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

with pride.”¹ The Duke of Aerschot and Count Meghen gave great banquets in Brussels, where all the good chevaliers drank deep in honor of the victory, and to the health of his Majesty and madame. “I saw Berlaymont just go by the window,” wrote Schwartz to the prince. “He was coming from Aerschot’s dinner, with a face as red as the cardinal’s new hat.”²

On the other hand, the citizens of Valenciennes were depressed in equal measure with the exultation of their antagonists. There was no more talk of seven sleepers now, no more lunettes stuck upon lances to spy the coming forces of the enemy. It was felt that the government was wide awake and that the city would soon see the impending horrors without telescopes. The siege was pressed more closely. Noircarmes took up a commanding position at St.-Armand, by which he was enabled to cut off all communication between the city and the surrounding country. All the villages in the neighborhood were pillaged, all the fields laid waste. All the infamies which an insolent soldiery can inflict upon helpless peasantry were daily enacted. Men and women who attempted any communication with the city were murdered in cold blood by hundreds.³ The villagers were plundered of their miserable possessions; children were stripped naked in the midst of winter for the sake of the rags which covered them; matrons and virgins were sold at public auction by the tap of drum;⁴

¹ “Haulcent pour l’heure la teste comme trommetaires, et ne sont quacy plus traictables d’orgueil.”—Archives et Correspondance, iii. 13.

² Ibid., iii. 9.

³ Remonstrance addressed by the inhabitants of Valenciennes to the Knights of the Fleece, § 9, apud Bor, iii. 136–141.

⁴ Ibid.

sick and wounded wretches were burned over slow fires to afford amusement to the soldiers.¹ In brief, the whole unmitigated curse which military power inflamed by religious bigotry can embody had descended upon the heads of these unfortunate provincials who had dared to worship God in Christian churches without a Roman ritual.

Meantime the city maintained a stout heart still. The whole population were arranged under different banners. The rich and poor alike took arms to defend the walls which sheltered them.² The town paupers were enrolled in three companies, which bore the significant title of the *Tous-nuds*, or the "Stark-naked,"³ and many was the fierce conflict delivered outside the gates by men who, in the words of a Catholic then in the city, might rather be taken for "experienced veterans than for burghers and artisans."⁴ At the same time, to the honor of Valenciennes, it must be stated, upon the same incontestable authority, that not a Catholic in the city was injured or insulted. The priests who had remained there were not allowed to say mass, but they never met with an opprobrious word or look from the people.⁵

The inhabitants of the city called upon the confederates for assistance. They also issued an address to the

¹ Remonstrance, etc., ubi sup.

² Valenciennes MS.

³ Ibid.

⁴ "Qu'on eut pris tous pour de vieux routiers et soldats expérimentes, et non pas pour des bourgeois et artisans de prime abord."—Ibid.

⁵ "Si ne recuerent ils toutes fois aucunes injures ny fascherie excepté qu'on leur défendit de dire la messe, laquelle le bon Prélat de S. Jean disoit seerettement en sa chambre pour sa consolation."—Ibid.

Knights of the Fleece,¹ a paper which narrated the story of their wrongs in pathetic and startling language. They appealed to those puissant and illustrious chevaliers to prevent the perpetration of the great wrong which was now impending over so many innocent heads. "Wait not," they said, "till the thunderbolt has fallen, till the deluge has overwhelmed us, till the fires already blazing have laid the land in coals and ashes, till no other course be possible but to abandon the country in its desolation to foreign barbarity. Let the cause of the oppressed come to your ears. So shall your conscience become a shield of iron; so shall the happiness of a whole country witness before the angels of your truth to his Majesty, in the cause of his true grandeur and glory."²

These stirring appeals to an order of which Philip was chief, Viglius chancellor, Egmont, Mansfeld, Aerschot, Berlaymont, and others chevaliers, were not likely to produce much effect. The city could rely upon no assistance in those high quarters.

Meantime, however, the bold Brederode was attempting a very extensive diversion, which, if successful, would have saved Valenciennes and the whole country besides. That eccentric personage, during the autumn and winter, had been creating disturbances in various parts of the country. Wherever he happened to be established, there came from the windows of his apartments a sound of revelry and uproar. Suspicious characters in various costumes thronged his door and dogged his footsteps.³ At the same time the authorities felt

¹ Ante, p. 310.

² Remonstrance, etc., ubi sup.

³ Bor, iii. 147, 148.

themselves obliged to treat him with respect. At Horn he had entertained many of the leading citizens at a great banquet. The health of the beggars had been drunk in mighty potations, and their shibboleth had resounded through the house. In the midst of the festivities, Brederode had suspended a beggar's medal around the neck of the burgomaster, who had consented to be his guest upon that occasion, but who had no intention of enrolling himself in the fraternities of actual or political mendicants. The excellent magistrate, however, was near becoming a member of both. The emblem by which he had been conspicuously adorned proved very embarrassing to him upon his recovery from the effects of his orgies with the "great beggar," and he was subsequently punished for his imprudence by the confiscation of half his property.¹

Early in January, Brederode had stationed himself in his city of Vianen. There, in virtue of his seigniorial rights, he had removed all statues and other popish emblems from the churches, performing the operation, however, with much quietness and decorum. He had also collected many disorderly men-at-arms in this city, and had strengthened its fortifications, to resist, as he said, the threatened attacks of Duke Eric of Brunswick and his German mercenaries.² A printing-press was established in the place, whence satirical pamphlets, hymn-books, and other pestiferous productions were constantly issuing to the annoyance of government.³

¹ Velius Hoorn, Bl. 298; cited by Wagenaer, vi. 189.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 255-257. Compare Bor, iii. 147, 148; Bentivoglio, iii. 46.

³ Bor, ubi sup. Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 328-331.

Many lawless and uproarious individuals enjoyed the count's hospitality. All the dregs and filth of the provinces, according to Dr. Viglius, were accumulated at Vianen as in a cesspool.¹ Along the placid banks of the Leek, on which river the city stands, the "hydra of rebellion"² lay ever coiled and threatening.

Brederode was supposed to be revolving vast schemes, both political and military, and Margaret of Parma was kept in continual apprehension by the bravado of this very noisy conspirator. She called upon William of Orange, as usual, for assistance. The prince, however, was very ill disposed to come to her relief. An extreme disgust for the policy of the government already began to characterize his public language. In the autumn and winter he had done all that man could do for the safety of the monarch's crown and for the people's happiness. His services in Antwerp have been recorded. As soon as he could tear himself from that city, where the magistrates and all classes of citizens clung to him as to their only savior, he had hastened to tranquillize the provinces of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. He had made arrangements in the principal cities there upon the same basis which he had adopted in Antwerp, and to which Margaret had consented in August. It was quite out of the question to establish order without permitting the reformers, who constituted much the larger portion of the population, to have liberty of religious exercises at some places, not consecrated, within the cities.

At Amsterdam, for instance, as he informed the duchess, there were swarms of unlearned, barbarous people, mariners and the like,³ who could by no means

¹ Vigl. ad J. Hopperum, 418-424.

² Ibid., 425.

³ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 283, 284: "Maronniers et gens indoctz, barbares."

perceive the propriety of doing their preaching in the open country, seeing that the open country, at that season, was quite under water.¹ Margaret's gracious suggestion that perhaps something might be done with boats was also considered inadmissible. "I know not," said Orange, "who could have advised your Highness to make such a proposition."² He informed her, likewise, that the barbarous mariners had a clear right to their preaching, for the custom had already been established previously to the August treaty, at a place called the "Lastaadje," among the wharves. "In the name of God, then," wrote Margaret, "let them continue to preach in the Lastaadje."³ This being all the barbarians wanted, an Accord, with the full consent of the regent, was drawn up at Amsterdam and the other northern cities. The Catholics kept churches and cathedrals, but in the winter season the greater part of the population obtained permission to worship God upon dry land, in warehouses and dockyards.

Within a very few weeks, however, the whole arrangement was coolly canceled by the duchess, her permission revoked, and peremptory prohibition of all preaching within or without the walls proclaimed.⁴ The government was growing stronger. Had not Noircarmes and Rassinghem cut to pieces three or four thousand of these sectaries, marching to battle under parsons, locksmiths, and similar chieftains? Were not all lovers of good government "erecting their heads like dromedaries"?

It may easily be comprehended that the prince could

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 283, 284.

² Ibid.

³ "Au nom de Dieu qu'ils ayent leurs presches au diet Lastaige."
—Ibid., ii. 296.

⁴ Ibid., ii. 351-353.

not with complacency permit himself to be thus perpetually stultified by a weak, false, and imperious woman. She had repeatedly called upon him when she was appalled at the tempest and sinking in the ocean, and she had as constantly disavowed his deeds and reviled his character when she felt herself in safety again. He had tranquillized the old Batavian provinces, where the old Batavian spirit still lingered, by his personal influence and his unwearied exertions. Men of all ranks and religions were grateful for his labors. The reformers had not gained much, but they were satisfied. The Catholics retained their churches, their property, their consideration. The states of Holland had voted him fifty thousand florins¹ as an acknowledgment of his efforts in restoring peace. He had refused the present. He was in debt, pressed for money, but he did not choose, as he informed Philip, "that men should think his actions governed by motives of avarice or particular interest, instead of the true affection which he bore to his Majesty's service and the *good of the country*."² Nevertheless, his back was hardly turned before all his work was undone by the regent.

A new and important step on the part of the government had now placed him in an attitude of almost avowed rebellion. All functionaries, from governors of provinces down to subalterns in the army, were required to take a new oath of allegiance, "*novum et hactenus inusitatum religionis juramentum*,"³ as the prince characterized it, which was, he said, quite equal to the Inquisition. Every man who bore his Majesty's commis-

¹ Bor, iii. 147. Hoofd, iv. 129.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 360-365.

³ Archives et Correspondance, iii. 29.

sion was ordered solemnly to pledge himself to obey the orders of government, everywhere, and against every person, without limitation or restriction.¹ Count Mansfeld, now "factotum at Brussels,"² had taken the oath with great fervor. So had Aerschot, Berlaymont, Meghen, and, after a little wavering, Egmont.³ Orange spurned the proposition. He had taken oaths enough, which he had never broken, nor intended now to break. He was ready still to do everything conducive to the *real interest* of the monarch. Who dared do more was no true servant to the government, no true lover of the country. He would never disgrace himself by a blind pledge, through which he might be constrained to do acts detrimental, in his opinion, to the safety of the crown, the happiness of the commonwealth, and his own honor. The alternative presented he willingly embraced.⁴ He renounced all his offices, and desired no longer to serve a government whose policy he did not approve, a king by whom he was suspected.

His resignation was not accepted by the duchess, who still made efforts to retain the services of a man who was necessary to her administration. She begged him, notwithstanding the purely defensive and watchful attitude which he had now assumed, to take measures that Brederode should abandon his mischievous courses. She also reproached the prince with having furnished that personage with artillery for his fortifications.

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., iii. 26-31. Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 312, 313, 317-321, 416-418.

² Expression of Orange, Archives et Correspondance, iii. 40.

³ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 312, 313. Strada, vi. 264.

⁴ Renom de France MS., i. c. 39.

Orange answered, somewhat contemptuously, that he was not Brederode's keeper, and had no occasion to meddle with his affairs.¹ He had given him three small field-pieces, promised long ago; not that he mentioned that circumstance as an excuse for the donation. "Thank God," said he, "we have always had the liberty in this country of making to friends or relatives what presents we liked, and methinks that things have come to a pretty pass when such trifles are scrutinized."² Certainly, as suzerain of Vianen; and threatened with invasion in his seigniorial rights, the count might think himself justified in strengthening the bulwarks of his little stronghold, and the prince could hardly be deemed very seriously to endanger the safety of the crown by the insignificant present which had annoyed the regent.

It is not so agreeable to contemplate the apparent intimacy which the prince accorded to so disreputable a character; but Orange was now in hostility to the government, was convinced, by evidence whose accuracy time was most signally to establish, that his own head, as well as many others, were already doomed to the block, while the whole country was devoted to abject servitude, and he was therefore disposed to look with more indulgence upon the follies of those who were endeavoring, however weakly and insanely, to avert the horrors which he foresaw. The time for reasoning had passed. All that true wisdom and practical statesmanship could suggest, he had already placed at the disposal of a woman who stabbed him in the back even while she leaned upon his arm—of a king who had already drawn his death-warrant, while reproaching his

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 339, 340.

² Ibid.

"cousin of Orange" for want of confidence in the royal friendship. Was he now to attempt the subjugation of his country by interfering with the proceedings of men whom he had no power to command, and who, at least, were attempting to oppose tyranny? Even if he should do so he was perfectly aware of the reward reserved for his loyalty. He liked not such honors as he foresaw for all those who had ever interposed between the monarch and his vengeance. For himself, he had the liberation of a country, the foundation of a free commonwealth, to achieve. There was much work for those hands before he should fall a victim to the crowned assassin.

Early in February, Brederode, Hoogstraaten, Horn, and some other gentlemen visited the prince at Breda.¹ Here it is supposed the advice of Orange was asked concerning the new movement contemplated by Brederode. He was bent upon presenting a new petition to the duchess with great solemnity. There is no evidence to show that the prince approved the step, which must have seemed to him superfluous, if not puerile. He probably regarded the matter with indifference. Brederode, however, who was fond of making demonstrations, and thought himself endowed with a genius for such work, wrote to the regent for letters of safe-conduct that he might come to Brussels with his petition. The passports were contemptuously refused. He then came to Antwerp, from which city he forwarded the document to Brussels in a letter.

By this new Request the exercise of the Reformed religion was claimed as a right, while the duchess was summoned to disband the forces which she had been

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 404 sqq.

collecting, and to maintain in good faith the August treaty.¹ These claims were somewhat bolder than those of the previous April, although the liberal party was much weaker and the confederacy entirely disbanded. Brederode, no doubt, thought it good generalship to throw the last loaf of bread into the enemy's camp before the city should surrender. His haughty tone was at once taken down by Margaret of Parma. She wondered, she said, what manner of nobles these were, who, after requesting, a year before, to be saved only from the Inquisition, now presumed to talk about preaching in the cities. The concessions of August had always been odious, and were now canceled. "As for you and your accomplices," she continued to the count, "you will do well to go to your homes at once without meddling with public affairs, for in case of disobedience I shall deal with you as I shall deem expedient."²

Brederode, not easily abashed, disregarded the advice, and continued in Antwerp. Here, accepting the answer of the regent as a formal declaration of hostilities, he busied himself in levying troops in and about the city.³

Orange had returned to Antwerp early in February. During his absence Hoogstraaten had acted as governor, at the instance of the prince and of the regent. During the winter that nobleman, who was very young and very fiery, had carried matters with a high hand whenever there had been the least attempt at sedition. Liberal in principles, and the devoted friend of Orange, he was disposed, however, to prove that the champions of

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 404 sqq. Bor, iii. 149-151.

² Bor, iii. 149-151. Archives et Correspondance, iii. 31.

³ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 410, 411.

religious liberty were not the patrons of sedition. A riot occurring in the cathedral, where a violent mob were engaged in defacing whatever was left to deface in that church, and in heaping insults on the papists at their worship, the little count, who, says a Catholic contemporary, "had the courage of a lion," dashed in among them, sword in hand, killed three upon the spot, and, aided by his followers, succeeded in slaying, wounding, or capturing all the rest.¹ He had also tracked the ringleader of the tumult to his lodging, where he had caused him to be arrested at midnight, and hanged at once in his shirt without any form of trial.² Such rapid proceedings little resembled the calm and judicious moderation of Orange upon all occasions, but they certainly might have sufficed to convince Philip that all antagonists of the Inquisition were not heretics and outlaws. Upon the arrival of the prince in Antwerp, it was considered advisable that Hoogstraaten should remain associated with him in the temporary government of the city.³

During the month of February, Brederode remained in Antwerp, secretly enrolling troops. It was probably his intention—if so desultory and irresponsible an individual could be said to have an intention—to make an attempt upon the island of Walcheren. If such important cities as Flushing and Middelburg could be gained, he thought it possible to prevent the armed invasion now soon expected from Spain. Orange had sent an officer to those cities, who was to reconnoiter their condition, and to advise them against receiving a garri-son from government without his authority.⁴ So far he

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid.

³ Bor, iii. 153.

⁴ Gachard, Preface to *Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit.*,

connived at Brederode's proceedings, as he had a perfect right to do, for Walcheren was within what had been the prince's government, and he had no disposition that these cities should share the fate of Tournay, Valenciennes, Bois-le-Duc, and other towns which had already passed or were passing under the spears of foreign mercenaries.

It is also probable that he did not take any special pains to check the enrolments of Brederode. The peace of Antwerp was not endangered, and to the preservation of that city the prince seemed now to limit himself. He was hereditary Burgrave of Antwerp, but officer of Philip's nevermore. Despite the shrill demands of Duchess Margaret, therefore, the prince did not take very active measures by which the crown of Philip might be secured. He perhaps looked upon the struggle almost with indifference. Nevertheless, he issued a formal proclamation by which the count's enlistments were forbidden. Van der Aa, a gentleman who had been active in making these levies, was compelled to leave the city.¹ Brederode was already gone to the north to busy himself with further enrolments.²

In the meantime there had been much alarm in Brussels. Egmont, who omitted no opportunity of manifesting his loyalty, offered to throw himself at once into the isle of Walcheren, for the purpose of dislodging any rebels who might have effected an entrance.³ He collected accordingly seven or eight hundred Walloon veterans, at his disposal in Flanders, in the little port

ii. cxliv. sqq. Compare Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc., iii. 48-50; Bor, iii. 156; Meteren, ii. 45; Hoofd, iii. 120.

¹ Bor, iii. 156.

² Ibid.

³ Pontus Payen MS.

of Sas de Ghent, prepared at once to execute his intention, "worthy," says a Catholic writer, "of his well-known courage and magnanimity."¹ The duchess expressed gratitude for the count's devotion and loyalty, but his services in the sequel proved unnecessary. The rebels, several boat-loads of whom had been cruising about in the neighborhood of Flushing during the early part of Mareh, had been refused admittance into any of the ports on the island. They therefore sailed up the Schelde, and landed at a little village called Austruweel, at the distance of somewhat more than a mile from Antwerp.²

The commander of the expedition was Marnix of Tholouse, brother to Marnix of Sainte-Aldegonde. This young nobleman, who had left college to fight for the cause of religious liberty, was possessed of fine talents and accomplishments.³ Like his illustrious brother, he was already a sincere convert to the doctrines of the Reformed Church.⁴ He had nothing, however, but courage to recommend him as a leader in a military expedition. He was a mere boy, utterly without experience in the field.⁵ His troops were raw levies, vagabonds, and outlaws.

Such as it was, however, his army was soon posted at Austruweel, in a convenient position and with considerable judgment. He had the Schelde and its dikes in his rear, on his right and left the dikes and the village. In front he threw up a breastwork and sank a trench.⁶ Here, then, was set up the standard of rebellion, and hither flocked daily many malecontents from the country

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Bor, iii. 156. Hoofd, iii. 120. Meteren, ii. 45.

³ Pontus Payen MS.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

round. Within a few days three thousand men were in his camp. On the other hand, Brederode was busy in Holland, and boasted of taking the field ere long with six thousand soldiers at the very least. Together they would march to the relief of Valenciennes, and dictate peace in Brussels.¹

It was obvious that this matter could not be allowed to go on. The duchess, with some trepidation, accepted the offer made by Philip de Lannoy, Seigneur de Beauvoir, commander of her body-guard in Brussels, to destroy this nest of rebels without delay.² Half the whole number of these soldiers was placed at his disposition, and Egmont supplied De Beauvoir with four hundred of his veteran Walloons.³

With a force numbering only eight hundred, but all picked men, the intrepid officer undertook his enterprise with great despatch and secrecy. Upon the 12th March the whole troop was sent off in small parties, to avoid suspicion, and armed only with sword and dagger. Their helmets, bucklers, harquebuses, corselets, spears, standards, and drums were delivered to their officers, by whom they were conveyed noiselessly to the place of rendezvous.⁴ Before daybreak, upon the following morning, De Beauvoir met his soldiers at the abbey of St. Bernard, within a league of Antwerp. Here he gave them their arms, supplied them with refreshments, and made them a brief speech.⁵ He instructed them that they were to advance, with furled banners and without beat of drum, till within sight of the enemy,

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. Compare Gachard, Preface to Guillaume le Tacit., ii. cxxiv.-cxxx.

⁵ Pontus Payen MS.

that the foremost section was to deliver its fire, retreat to the rear, and load, to be followed by the next, which was to do the same, and, above all, that not a harquebus should be discharged till the faces of the enemy could be distinguished.¹

The troop started. After a few minutes' march they were in full sight of Austruweel. They then displayed their flags and advanced upon the fort with loud huzzas. Tholouse was as much taken by surprise as if they had suddenly emerged from the bowels of the earth.² He had been informed that the government at Brussels was in extreme trepidation. When he first heard the advancing trumpets and sudden shouts, he thought it a detachment of Brederode's promised force. The cross on the banners³ soon undeceived him. Nevertheless, "like a brave and generous young gentleman as he was,"⁴ he lost no time in drawing up his men for action, implored them to defend their breastworks, which were impregnable against so small a force, and instructed them to wait patiently with their fire till the enemy were near enough to be marked.

These orders were disobeyed. The "young scholar," as De Beauvoir had designated him, had no power to infuse his own spirit into his rabble rout of followers. They were already panic-struck by the unexpected appearance of the enemy. The Catholics came on with the coolness of veterans, taking as deliberate aim as if it had been they, not their enemies, who were behind breastworks. The troops of Tholouse fired wildly, pre-

¹ Pontus Payen MS. Compare the letters of De Beauvoir, published by M. Gachard, Preface, etc., ubi supra.

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ Letter of De Beauvoir, ubi sup.

⁴ Pontus Payen MS.

cipitately, quite over the heads of the assailants. Many of the defenders were slain as fast as they showed themselves above their bulwarks. The ditch was crossed, the breastworks carried at a single determined charge. The rebels made little resistance, but fled as soon as the enemy entered their fort. It was a hunt, not a battle. Hundreds were stretched dead in the camp; hundreds were driven into the Schelde; six or eight hundred took refuge in a farm-house; but De Beauvoir's men set fire to the building, and every rebel who had entered it was burned alive or shot. No quarter was given. Hardly a man of the three thousand who had held the fort escaped. The body of Tholouse was cut into a hundred pieces.¹ The Seigneur de Beauvoir had reason, in the brief letter which gave an account of this exploit, to assure her Highness that there were "some very valiant fellows in his little troop." Certainly they had accomplished the enterprise intrusted to them with promptness, neatness, and entire success. Of the great rebellious gathering, which every day had seemed to grow more formidable, not a vestige was left.²

This bloody drama had been enacted in full sight of Antwerp. The fight had lasted from daybreak till ten o'clock in the forenoon, during the whole of which period the city ramparts looking toward Austruweel, the roofs of houses, the towers of churches, had been swarming with eager spectators. The sound of drum and trumpet, the rattle of musketry, the shouts of vic-

¹ "Le Sr de Tholouze qui at esté haché en cent pièces, non obstant l'offre de deux mil escus qu'il faisoit pour ranson," etc.—Letter of De Beauvoir in Gachard, *ubi sup.*

² Gachard, Preface, *ubi sup.* Pontus Payen MS. Compare Bor, iii. 157; Meteren, f. 45; Strada, vi. 250, 251.

tory, the despairing cries of the vanquished, were heard by thousands who deeply sympathized with the rebels thus enduring so sanguinary a chastisement.¹ In Antwerp there were forty thousand people opposed to the Church of Rome.² Of this number the greater proportion were Calvinists, and of these Calvinists there were thousands looking down from the battlements upon the disastrous fight.

The excitement soon became uncontrollable. Before ten o'clock vast numbers of sectaries came pouring toward the Red Gate, which afforded the readiest egress to the scene of action, the drawbridge of the Austruweel Gate having been destroyed the night before by command of Orange.³ They came from every street and alley of the city. Some were armed with lance, pike, or harquebus; some bore sledge-hammers; others had the partizans, battle-axes, and huge two-handed swords of the previous century.⁴ All were determined upon issuing forth to the rescue of their friends in the fields outside the town. The wife of Tholouse, not yet aware of her husband's death, although his defeat was obvious, flew from street to street, calling upon the Calvinists to save or to avenge their perishing brethren.⁵

A terrible tumult prevailed. Ten thousand men were already up and in arms. It was then that the Prince of Orange, who was sometimes described by his enemies as timid and pusillanimous by nature, showed the mettle he was made of. His sense of duty no longer bade him defend the crown of Philip,—which thenceforth was to

¹ Strada, Bor, Meteren, ubi supra.

² Letter of Sir T. Gresham in Burgon, ii. 195.

³ Bor, iii. 157. Hoofd, iii. 121.

⁴ Pontus Payen MS.

⁵ Strada, vi. 252.

be intrusted to the hirelings of the Inquisition,—but the vast population of Antwerp, the women, the children, and the enormous wealth of the richest city in the world had been confided to his care, and he had accepted the responsibility. Mounting his horse, he made his appearance instantly at the Red Gate, before as formidable a mob as man has ever faced.¹ He came there almost alone, without guards. Hoogstraaten arrived soon afterward with the same intention. The prince was received with howls of execration. A thousand hoarse voices called him the pope's servant, minister of Antichrist, and lavished upon him many more epithets of the same nature.² His life was in imminent danger. A furious clothier leveled a harquebus full at his breast. "Die, treacherous villain," he cried, "thou who art the cause that our brethren have perished thus miserably in yonder field!"³ The loaded weapon was struck away by another hand in the crowd, while the prince, neither daunted by the ferocious demonstrations against his life, nor enraged by the virulent abuse to which he was subjected, continued tranquilly, earnestly, imperatively to address the crowd. William of Orange had that in his face and tongue "which men willingly call master—authority." With what other talisman could he, without violence and without soldiers, have quelled even for a moment ten thousand furious Calvinists, armed, enraged against his person, and thirsting for vengeance on Catholics? The postern of the Red Gate had already been broken through before Orange and his colleague, Hoogstraaten, had arrived. The most

¹ Bor, iii. 157. Hoofd, iii. 121. Compare Strada, vi. 252, 253.

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ Bor, iii. 157. Hoofd, iii. 121.

excited of the Calvinists were preparing to rush forth upon the enemy at Anstruweel. The prince, after he had gained the ear of the multitude, urged that the battle was now over, that the reformers were entirely cut to pieces, the enemy retiring, and that a disorderly and ill-armed mob would be unable to retrieve the fortunes of the day. Many were persuaded to abandon the design. Five hundred of the most violent, however, insisted upon leaving the gates, and the governors, distinctly warning these zealots that their blood must be upon their own heads, reluctantly permitted that number to issue from the city. The rest of the mob, not appeased, but uncertain, and disposed to take vengeance upon the Catholics within the walls for the disaster which had been occurring without, thronged tumultuously to the long, wide street called the Mere, situate in the very heart of the city.¹

Meantime the ardor of those who had sallied from the gates grew sensibly cooler when they found themselves in the open fields. De Beauvoir, whose men, after the victory, had scattered in pursuit of the fugitives, now heard the tumult in the city. Suspecting an attack, he rallied his compact little army again for a fresh encounter. The last of the vanquished Tholousians who had been captured, more fortunate than their predecessors, had been spared for ransom. There were three hundred of them—rather a dangerous number of prisoners for a force of eight hundred, who were just going into another battle. De Beauvoir commanded his soldiers, therefore, to shoot them all.² This order

¹ Bor, iii. 157 sqq. Pontus Payen MS. Letter of Sir T. Gresham.

² Pontus Payen MS.: "Leur commanda de tuer sur le champ tous leurs prisonniers." "Qui fust aussitôt executé que commande."

having been accomplished, the Catholics marched toward Antwerp, drums beating, colors flying. The five hundred Calvinists, not liking their appearance, and being in reality outnumbered, retreated within the gates as hastily as they had just issued from them. De Beauvoir advanced close to the city moat, on the margin of which he planted the banners of the unfortunate Tholouse, and sounded a trumpet of defiance. Finding that the citizens had apparently no stomach for the fight, he removed his trophies and took his departure.¹

On the other hand, the tumult within the walls had again increased. The Calvinists had been collecting in great numbers upon the Mere. This was a large and splendid thoroughfare, rather an oblong market-place than a street, filled with stately buildings, and communicating by various cross-streets with the Exchange and with many other public edifices. By an early hour in the afternoon twelve or fifteen thousand Calvinists,² all armed and fighting men, had assembled upon the place. They had barricaded the whole precinct with pavements and upturned wagons. They had already broken into the arsenal and obtained many field-pieces, which were planted at the entrance of every street and byway. They had stormed the city jail and liberated the prisoners, all of whom, grateful and ferocious, came to swell the numbers who defended the stronghold on the Mere. A tremendous mischief was afoot. Threats of pillaging the churches and the houses of the Catholics, of sacking the whole opulent city, were distinctly heard among this powerful mob, excited by religious enthusiasm, but containing within one great heterogeneous mass the

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 226, 227.

elements of every crime which humanity can commit. The alarm throughout the city was indescribable. The cries of women and children, as they remained in trembling expectation of what the next hour might bring forth, were, said one who heard them, "enough to soften the hardest hearts."¹

Nevertheless, the diligence and courage of the prince kept pace with the insurrection. He had caused the eight companies of guards enrolled in September to be mustered upon the square in front of the city hall for the protection of that building and of the magistracy. He had summoned the senate of the city, the board of ancients, the deans of gilds, the ward-masters, to consult with him at the council-room. At the peril of his life he had again gone before the angry mob in the Mere, advancing against their cannon and their outcries, and compelling them to appoint eight deputies to treat with him and the magistrates at the town hall. This done, quickly but deliberately he had drawn up six articles, to which those deputies gave their assent, and in which the city government cordially united. These articles provided that the keys of the city should remain in the possession of the prince and of Hoogstraaten, that the watch should be held by burghers and soldiers together, that the magistrates should permit the entrance of no garrison, and that the citizens should be intrusted with the care of the charters, especially with that of the "joyful entrance."²

These arrangements, when laid before the assembly

¹ Bor (iii. 159), who has incorporated into his work the "justification" published contemporaneously by the magistracy of Antwerp.

² Ibid., iii. 157.

at the Mere by their deputies, were not received with favor. The Calvinists demanded the keys of the city. They did not choose to be locked up at the mercy of any man. They had already threatened to blow the city hall into the air if the keys were not delivered to them.¹ They claimed that burghers, without distinction of religion, instead of mercenary troops, should be allowed to guard the market-place in front of the town hall.

It was now nightfall, and no definite arrangement had been concluded. Nevertheless, a temporary truce was made, by means of a concession as to the guard. It was agreed that the burghers, Calvinists and Lutherans as well as Catholics, should be employed to protect the city. By subtlety, however, the Calvinists detailed for that service were posted, not in the town-house square, but on the ramparts and at the gates.²

A night of dreadful expectation was passed. The army of fifteen thousand mutineers remained encamped and barricaded on the Mere, with guns loaded and artillery pointed. Fierce cries of "Long live the beggars!" "Down with the papists!" and other significant watch-words, were heard all night long, but no more serious outbreak occurred.³

During the whole of the following day the Calvinists remained in their encampment, the Catholics and the city guardsmen at their posts near the city hall. The prince was occupied in the council-chamber from morning till night, with the municipal authorities, the deputies of "the religion," and the gild officers, in framing a new treaty of peace. Toward evening fifteen articles

¹ Letter of Sir T. Gresham, Bor, ubi sup.

² Bor.

³ Ibid, ubi sup. Hoofd, iii. 121 sqq.

were agreed upon, which were to be proposed forthwith to the insurgents, and in case of non-acceptance to be enforced. The arrangement provided that there should be no garrison; that the September contracts permitting the Reformed worship at certain places within the city should be maintained; that men of different parties should refrain from mutual insults; that the two governors, the prince and Hoogstraaten, should keep the keys; that the city should be guarded by both soldiers and citizens, without distinction of religious creed; that a band of four hundred cavalry and a small flotilla of vessels of war should be maintained for the defense of the place, and that the expenses to be incurred should be levied upon all classes, clerical and lay, Catholic and Reformed, without any exception.¹

It had been intended that the governors, accompanied by the magistrates, should forthwith proceed to the Mere, for the purpose of laying these terms before the insurgents. Night had, however, already arrived, and it was understood that the ill temper of the Calvinists had rather increased than diminished, so that it was doubtful whether the arrangement would be accepted. It was therefore necessary to await the issue of another day, rather than to provoke a night battle in the streets.²

During the night the prince labored incessantly to provide against the dangers of the morrow. The Calvinists had fiercely expressed their disinclination to any reasonable arrangement. They had threatened, without further pause, to plunder the religious houses and the mansions of all the wealthy Catholics, and to drive every papist out of town.³ They had summoned the

¹ Bor, iii. 158.

² Ibid., iii. 158^b.

³ Ibid.

Lutherans to join with them in their revolt, and menaced them, in case of refusal, with the same fate which awaited the Catholics.¹ The prince, who was himself a Lutheran, not entirely free from the universal prejudice against the Calvinists, whose sect he afterward embraced, was fully aware of the deplorable fact that the enmity at that day between Calvinists and Lutherans was as fierce as that between reformers and Catholics. He now made use of this feeling, and of his influence with those of the Augsburg Confession, to save the city. During the night he had interviews with the ministers and notable members of the Lutheran churches, and induced them to form an alliance upon this occasion with the Catholics and with all friends of order against an army of outlaws who were threatening to burn and sack the city. The Lutherans, in the silence of night, took arms and encamped, to the number of three or four thousand, upon the riverside, in the neighborhood of St. Michael's Cloister. The prince also sent for the deans of all the foreign mercantile associations,—Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, English, Hanseatic,—engaged their assistance also for the protection of the city, and commanded them to remain in their armor at their respective factories, ready to act at a moment's warning. It was agreed that they should be informed at frequent intervals as to the progress of events.²

On the morning of the 15th the city of Antwerp presented a fearful sight. Three distinct armies were arrayed at different points within its walls. The Calvinists, fifteen thousand strong, lay in their encamp-

¹ Bor, iii. 158^b.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 158, 159. Strada, vi. 252, 253. Hoofd, iii. 120, 122. Letter of Sir T. Gresham.

ment on the Mere; the Lutherans, armed, and eager for action, were at St. Michael's; the Catholics and the regulars of the city guard were posted on the square. Between thirty-five and forty thousand men were up, according to the most moderate computation.¹ All parties were excited and eager for the fray. The fires of religious hatred burned fiercely in every breast. Many malefactors and outlaws, who had found refuge in the course of recent events at Antwerp, were in the ranks of the Calvinists, profaning a sacred cause, and inspiring a fanatical party with bloody resolutions. Papists, once and forever, were to be hunted down, even as they had been for years pursuing reformers. Let the men who had fed fat on the spoils of plundered Christians be dealt with in like fashion. Let their homes be sacked, their bodies given to the dogs—such were the cries uttered by thousands of armed men.

On the other hand, the Lutherans, as angry and as rich as the Catholics, saw in every Calvinist a murderer and a robber. They thirsted after their blood; for the spirit of religious frenzy, the characteristic of the cen-

¹ The government estimate as to the numbers of the armed Calvinists alone was fourteen thousand (Correspondance de M. d'Autriche, 226, 227). Sir Thomas Gresham estimated them at ten thousand armed and fighting men, while he placed the total numbers upon both sides as high as fifty thousand. "So that, sir, by credible report, there rose up all sorts above fyftie thousand menne very well armed."—Letter of March 17, 1567, in Burgon.

The Prince of Orange, who was always moderate in his computations on such occasions, stated the whole force on both sides at twenty-eight thousand only: "Dan E. L. mögen uns vertrauen das zu baiden seiten in die acht und zwantig tausend bewerter man gewesen seindt."—Letter to Landgrave William, Archives et Correspondance, iii. 59. This applies exclusively to armed and fighting men.

tury, can with difficulty be comprehended in our colder and more skeptical age. There was every probability that a bloody battle was to be fought that day in the streets of Antwerp—a general engagement, in the course of which, whoever might be the victors, the city was sure to be delivered over to fire, sack, and outrage. Such would have been the result, according to the concurrent testimony of eye-witnesses and contemporary historians of every country and creed, but for the courage and wisdom of one man. William of Orange knew what would be the consequence of a battle, pent up within the walls of Antwerp. He foresaw the horrible havoc which was to be expected, the desolation which would be brought to every hearth in the city. “Never were men so desperate and so willing to fight,”¹ said Sir Thomas Gresham, who had been expecting every hour his summons to share in the conflict. If the prince were unable that morning to avert the impending calamity, no other power under heaven could save Antwerp from destruction.

The articles prepared on the 14th had been already approved by those who represented the Catholic and Lutheran interests. They were read early in the morning to the troops assembled on the square and at St. Michael's, and received with hearty cheers.² It was now necessary that the Calvinists should accept them, or that the quarrel should be fought out at once. At ten o'clock, William of Orange, attended by his colleague, Hoogstraaten, together with a committee of the municipal authorities, and followed by a hundred troopers, rode to the Mere. They wore red scarfs

¹ Letter in Burgon, 17th March.

² Bor. Letter of Sir T. Gresham.

over their armor,¹ as symbols by which all those who had united to put down the insurrection were distinguished. The fifteen thousand Calvinists, fierce and disorderly as ever, maintained a threatening aspect. Nevertheless, the prince was allowed to ride into the midst of the square. The articles were then read aloud by his command, after which, with great composure, he made a few observations. He pointed out that the arrangement offered them was founded upon the September concessions, that the right of worship was conceded, that the foreign garrison was forbidden, and that nothing further could be justly demanded or honorably admitted. He told them that a struggle upon their part would be hopeless, for the Catholics and Lutherans, who were all agreed as to the justice of the treaty, outnumbered them by nearly two to one. He therefore most earnestly and affectionately adjured them to testify their acceptance to the peace offered by repeating the words with which he should conclude. Then, with a firm voice, the prince exclaimed, "God save the King!" It was the last time that those words were ever heard from the lips of the man already proscribed by Philip. The crowd of Calvinists hesitated an instant, and then, unable to resist the tranquil influence, convinced by his reasonable language, they raised one tremendous shout of "Vive le Roi!"

The deed was done, the peace accepted, the dreadful battle averted, Antwerp saved. The deputies of the Calvinists now formally accepted and signed the articles. Kind words were exchanged among the various classes of fellow-citizens who but an hour before had been thirsting for each other's blood, the artillery and other

¹ Bor.

weapons of war were restored to the arsenals, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Catholics all laid down their arms, and the city, by three o'clock, was entirely quiet. Fifty thousand armed men had been up, according to some estimates, yet, after three days of dreadful expectation, not a single person had been injured, and the tumult was now appeased.¹

The prince had, in truth, used the mutual animosity of Protestant sects to a good purpose, averting bloodshed by the very weapons with which the battle was to have been waged. Had it been possible for a man like William the Silent to occupy the throne where Philip the Prudent sat, how different might have been the history of Spain and the fate of the Netherlands! Gresham was right, however, in his conjecture that the regent and court would not "take the business well." Margaret of Parma was incapable of comprehending such a mind as that of Orange, or of appreciating its efforts. She was surrounded by unscrupulous and mercenary soldiers, who hailed the coming civil war as the most profitable of speculations. "Factotum" Mansfeld, the Counts Aremberg and Meghen, the Duke of Aerschot, the sanguinary Noircarmes, were already counting their share in the coming confiscations. In the internecine conflict approaching, there would be gold for the gathering, even if no honorable laurels would wreath their swords. "Meghen with his regiment is desolating the country," wrote William of Orange to the Landgrave of Hesse, "and reducing many people to poverty. Aremberg is doing the same in Friesland. They are only thinking how, under the pretext of religion, they may

¹ Bor, iii. 159. Hoofd, iv. 121, 122. Strada, vi. 252, 253. Archives et Correspondance, iii. 48-52, 58, 59.

grind the poor Christians, and grow rich and powerful upon their estates and their blood.”¹

The Seigneur de Beauvoir wrote to the duchess, claiming all the estates of Tholouse and of his brother Sainte-Aldegonde as his reward for the Austruweel victory,² while Noircarmes was at this very moment to commence at Valenciennes that career of murder and spoliation which, continued at Mons a few years afterward, was to load his name with infamy.

From such a regent, surrounded by such councilors, was the work of William of Nassau's hands to gain applause? What was it to them that carnage and plunder had been spared in one of the richest and most populous cities in Christendom? Were not carnage and plunder the very elements in which they disported themselves? And what more dreadful offense against God and Philip could be committed than to permit, as the prince had just permitted, the right of worship in a Christian land to Calvinists and Lutherans? As a matter of course, therefore, Margaret of Parma denounced the terms by which Antwerp had been saved as a “novel and exorbitant capitulation,” and had no intention of signifying her approbation either to prince or magistrate.³

¹ Archives et Correspondance, iii. 39.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 546.

³ Correspondance de Marg. d'Autriche, 227.

CHAPTER X

Egmont and Aerschot before Valenciennes—Severity of Egmont—Capitulation of the city—Escape and capture of the ministers—Execution of La Grange and De Bray—Horrible cruelty at Valenciennes—Effects of the reduction of Valenciennes—The duchess at Antwerp—Armed invasion of the provinces decided upon in Spain—Appointment of Alva—Indignation of Margaret—Mission of De Billy—Pretended visit of Philip—Attempts of the duchess to gain over Orange—Mission of Berty—Interview between Orange and Egmont at Willebroek—Orange's letters to Philip, to Egmont, and to Horn—Orange departs from the Netherlands—Philip's letter to Egmont—Secret intelligence received by Orange—La Torre's mission to Brederode—Brederode's departure and death—Death of Berghen—Despair in the provinces—Great emigration—Cruelties practised upon those of the new religion—Edict of 24th May—Wrath of the king.

VALENCIENNES, whose fate depended so closely upon the issue of these various events, was now trembling to her fall. Noircarmes had been drawing the lines more and more closely about the city, and by a refinement of cruelty had compelled many Calvinists from Tournay to act as pioneers in the trenches against their own brethren in Valenciennes.¹ After the defeat of Tholouse, and the consequent frustration of all Brederode's arrangements to relieve the siege, the duchess had sent a fresh summons to Valenciennes, together with letters acquainting

¹ Pasquier de la Barre MS., f. 92.

the citizens with the results of the Austruweel battle. The intelligence was not believed. Egmont and Aerschot, however, to whom Margaret had intrusted this last mission to the beleaguered town, roundly rebuked the deputies who came to treat with them for their insolence in daring to doubt the word of the regent. The two seigniors had established themselves in the Château of Beusnage, at a league's distance from Valenciennes. Here they received commissioners from the city, half of whom were Catholics appointed by the magistrates, half Calvinists deputed by the consistories. These envoys were informed that the duchess would pardon the city for its past offenses, provided the gates should now be opened, the garrison received, and a complete suppression of all religion except that of Rome acquiesced in without a murmur. As nearly the whole population was of the Calvinist faith, these terms could hardly be thought favorable. It was, however, added that fourteen days should be allowed to the reformers for the purpose of converting their property and retiring from the country.¹

The deputies, after conferring with their constituents in the city, returned on the following day with counter-propositions, which were not more likely to find favor with the government. They offered to accept the garrison, provided the soldiers should live at their own expense, without any tax to the citizens for their board, lodging, or pay. They claimed that all property which had been seized should be restored, all persons accused of treason liberated. They demanded the unconditional revocation of the edict by which the city had been declared rebellious, together with a guaranty from the

¹ Pontus Payen MS. Valenciennes MS.

Knights of the Fleece and the state council that the terms of the proposed treaty should be strictly observed.¹

As soon as these terms had been read to the two seigniors, the Duke of Aerschot burst into an immoderate fit of laughter. He protested that nothing could be more ludicrous than such propositions, worthy of a conqueror dictating a peace, thus offered by a city closely beleaguered and entirely at the mercy of the enemy. The duke's hilarity was not shared by Egmont, who, on the contrary, fell into a furious passion. He swore that the city should be burned about their ears, and that every one of the inhabitants should be put to the sword for the insolent language which they had thus dared to address to a most clement sovereign. He ordered the trembling deputies instantly to return with this peremptory rejection of their terms, and with his command that the proposals of government should be accepted within three days' delay.

The commissioners fell upon their knees at Egmont's feet, and begged for mercy. They implored him at least to send this imperious message by some other hand than theirs, and to permit them to absent themselves from the city. They should be torn limb from limb, they said, by the enraged inhabitants, if they dared to present themselves with such instructions before them. Egmont, however, assured them that they should be sent into the city bound hand and foot if they did not instantly obey his orders. The deputies, therefore, with heavy hearts, were fain to return home with this bitter result to their negotiations. The terms were rejected, as a matter of course, but the gloomy forebod-

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

ings of the commissioners as to their own fate at the hands of their fellow-citizens were not fulfilled.¹

Instant measures were now taken to cannonade the city. Egmont, at the hazard of his life, descended into the foss to reconnoiter the works and to form an opinion as to the most eligible quarter at which to direct the batteries.² Having communicated the result of his investigations to Noircarmes, he returned to report all these proceedings to the regent at Brussels. Certainly the count had now separated himself far enough from William of Orange, and was manifesting an energy in the cause of tyranny which was sufficiently unscrupulous. Many people who had been deceived by his more generous demonstrations in former times tried to persuade themselves that he was acting a part. Noircarmes, however,—and no man was more competent to decide the question,—distinctly expressed his entire confidence in Egmont's loyalty.³ Margaret had responded warmly to his eulogies, had read with approbation secret letters from Egmont to Noircarmes, and had expressed the utmost respect and affection for "the count." Egmont had also lost no time in writing to Philip, informing him that he had selected the most eligible spot for battering down the obstinate city of Valenciennes, regretting that he could not have had the eight or ten military companies now at his disposal at an earlier day, in which case he should have been able to suppress many tumults, but congratulating his sovereign that the preachers were all fugitive, the Reformed religion suppressed, and the people disarmed. He assured the king that he would neglect no effort to prevent any renewal

¹ Pontus Payen MS. Valenciennes MS.

² Ibid.

³ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 502.

of the tumults, and expressed the hope that his Majesty would be satisfied with his conduct, notwithstanding the calumnies of which the times were full.¹

Noircarmes, meanwhile, had unmasked his batteries and opened his fire exactly according to Egmont's suggestions.² The artillery played first upon what was called the "White Tower," which happened to bear this ancient rhyming inscription :

When every man receives his own,
And justice reigns for strong and weak,
Perfect shall be this tower of stone,
And—all the dumb will learn to speak.³

For some unknown reason, the rather insipid quatrain was tortured into a baleful prophecy. It was considered very ominous that the battery should be first opened against this sibylline tower. The chimes, too, which had been playing, all through the siege, the music of Marot's sacred songs, happened that morning to be sounding forth from every belfry the Twenty-second Psalm: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"⁴

It was Palm Sunday, 23d of March. The women and children were going mournfully about the streets, bearing green branches in their hands, and praying upon their knees in every part of the city. Despair and

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 524.

² Pontus Payen MS. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. ubi sup.

³ "Quand chacun sera satisfait,
Et la justice regnera,
Ce boulevard sera parfait,
Et—la muette parlera."—Valenciennes MS.

⁴ Ibid.

superstition had taken possession of citizens who up to that period had justified La Noue's assertion that none could endure a siege like Huguenots. As soon as the cannonading began, the spirit of the inhabitants seemed to depart. The ministers exhorted their flocks in vain as the tiles and chimneys began to topple into the streets, and the concussions of the artillery were responded to by the universal wailing of affrighted women.¹

Upon the very first day after the unmasking of the batteries, the city sent to Noircarnes, offering almost an unconditional surrender. Not the slightest breach had been effected, not the least danger of an assault existed, yet the citizens, who had earned the respect of their antagonists by the courageous manner in which they had sallied and skirmished during the siege, now, in despair at any hope of eventual succor, and completely demoralized by the course of recent events outside their walls, surrendered ignominiously and at discretion.² The only stipulation agreed to by Noircarnes was that the city should not be sacked, and that the lives of the inhabitants should be spared.³

This pledge was, however, only made to be broken. Noircarnes entered the city and closed the gates. All the richest citizens, who of course were deemed the most criminal, were instantly arrested. The soldiers, although not permitted formally to sack the city, were quartered upon the inhabitants, whom they robbed and murdered, according to the testimony of a Catholic citizen, almost at their pleasure.⁴

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid. Valenciennes MS. Bor, iii. 142.

³ Bor, iii. 142. Hoofd, iv. 129 (bis).

⁴ Valenciennes MS.

Michael Herlin, a very wealthy and distinguished burgher, was arrested upon the first day. The two ministers Guido de Bray and Peregrine de la Grange, together with the son of Herlin, effected their escape by the water-gate. Having taken refuge in a tavern at St.-Armand, they were observed, as they sat at supper, by a peasant, who forthwith ran off to the mayor of the borough with the intelligence that some individuals who looked like fugitives had arrived at St.-Armand. One of them, said the informer, was richly dressed and wore a gold-hilted sword with velvet scabbard. By the description the mayor recognized Herlin the younger, and suspected his companions. They were all arrested and sent to Noircarmes. The two Herlins, father and son, were immediately beheaded.¹ Guido de Bray and Peregrine de la Grange were loaded with chains and thrown into a filthy dungeon previously to their being hanged.² Here they were visited by the Countess de Roeulx, who was curious to see how the Calvinists sustained themselves in their martyrdom. She asked them how they could sleep, eat, or drink when covered with such heavy fetters. "The cause, and my good conscience," answered De Bray, "make me eat, drink, and sleep better than those who are doing me wrong. These shackles are more honorable to me than golden rings and chains. They are more useful to me, and as I hear their clank, methinks I hear the music of sweet voices and the tinkling of lutes."³

This exaltation never deserted these courageous enthusiasts. They received their condemnation to death

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Brandt, *Reformatie*, i. 448, 449.

³ *Ibid.* *Hist. des Mart.*, f. 661, 662, apud Brandt.

"as if it had been an invitation to a marriage-feast."¹ They encouraged the friends who crowded their path to the scaffold with exhortations to remain true in the Reformed faith. La Grange, standing upon the ladder, proclaimed with a loud voice that he was slain for having preached the pure Word of God to a Christian people in a Christian land. De Bray, under the same gibbet, testified stoutly that he, too, had committed that offense alone. He warned his friends to obey the magistrates and all others in authority, except in matters of conscience; to abstain from sedition, but to obey the will of God. The executioner threw him from the ladder while he was yet speaking. So ended the lives of two eloquent, learned, and highly gifted divines.²

Many hundreds of victims were sacrificed in the unfortunate city. "There were a great many other citizens strangled or beheaded," says an aristocratic Catholic historian of the time, "but they were mostly personages of little quality, whose names are quite unknown to me."³ The franchises of the city were all revoked. There was a prodigious amount of property confiscated to the benefit of Noircarmes and the rest of the "seven sleepers." Many Calvinists were burned, others were hanged. "*For two whole years,*" says another Catholic, who was a citizen of Valenciennes at the time, "*there was scarcely a week in which several citizens were not executed, and often a great number were de-*

¹ "En schiekten sich soo blij moedelijk tot sterven als of ze ter bruiloft gingen."—Brandt, *ubi sup.*

² *Ibid.* Hist. des Martyrs, *ubi sup.*

³ Pontus Payen MS. : "Beaucoup d'autres bourgeois receurent depuis pareil traitement, qui estoient personnages de petite qualité et à moy incognus."

spatched at a time. All this gave so much alarm to the good and innocent that many quitted the city as fast as they could.”¹ If the good and innocent happened to be rich, they might be sure that Noircarmes would deem that a crime for which no goodness and innocence could atone.

Upon the fate of Valenciennes had depended, as if by common agreement, the whole destiny of the anti-Catholic party. “People had learned at last,” says another Walloon, “that the king had long arms, and that he had not been enlisting soldiers to string beads. So they drew in their horns and their evil tempers, meaning to put them forth again, should the government not succeed at the siege of Valenciennes.”² The government had succeeded, however, and the consternation was extreme, the general submission immediate and even abject. “The capture of Valenciennes,” wrote Noircarmes to Granvelle, “has worked a miracle. The other cities all come forth to meet me, putting the rope around their own necks.”³ No opposition was offered anywhere. Tournay had been crushed; Valenciennes, Bois-le-Duc, and all other important places accepted their garrisons without a murmur. Even Antwerp had made its last struggle, and as soon as the back of Orange was turned, knelt down in the dust to receive its bridle. The prince had been able, by his courage and wisdom, to avert a sanguinary conflict within its walls, but his personal presence alone could guarantee anything like religious liberty for the inhabitants, now that the rest of the country was subdued. On the 26th April sixteen companies of infantry, under Count Mans-

¹ Valenciennes MS.

² Renom de France MS., i. 35, 37.

³ Gachard, Preface to Guillaume le Tacit., ii. clxi., note 2.

feld, entered the gates.¹ On the 28th the duchess made a visit to the city, where she was received with respect, but where her eyes were shocked by that which she termed the "abominable, sad, and hideous spectacle of the desolated churches."²

To the eyes of all who loved their fatherland and their race, the sight of a desolate country, with its ancient charters superseded by brute force, its industrious population swarming from the land in droves, as if the pestilence were raging, with gibbets and scaffolds erected in every village, and with a sickening and universal apprehension of still darker disasters to follow, was a spectacle still more sad, hideous, and abominable.

For it was now decided that the Duke of Alva, at the head of a Spanish army, should forthwith take his departure for the Netherlands. A land already subjugated was to be crushed, and every vestige of its ancient liberties destroyed. The conquered provinces, once the abode of municipal liberty, of science, art, and literature, and blessed with an unexampled mercantile and manufacturing prosperity, were to be placed in absolute subjection to the cabinet council at Madrid. A dull and malignant bigot, assisted by a few Spanish grandees, and residing at the other extremity of Europe, was thenceforth to exercise despotic authority over countries which for centuries had enjoyed a local administration and a system nearly approaching to complete self-government. Such was the policy devised by Granvelle and Spinosa,³ which the Duke of Alva, upon the 15th April, had left Madrid to enforce.

¹ Gachard, Preface, etc., lxxxix.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 383-386.

³ Confessions of Del Ryo.

It was very natural that Margaret of Parma should be indignant at being thus superseded. She considered herself as having acquired much credit by the manner in which the latter insurrectionary movements had been suppressed, so soon as Philip, after his endless tergiversations, had supplied her with arms and money. Therefore she wrote in a tone of great asperity to her brother, expressing her discontent. She had always been trammelled in her action, she said, by his restrictions upon her authority. She complained that he had no regard for her reputation or her peace of mind. Notwithstanding all impediments and dangers, she had at last settled the country, and now another person was to reap the honor.¹ She also despatched the Seigneur de Billy to Spain, for the purpose of making verbal representations to his Majesty upon the inexpediency of sending the Duke of Alva to the Netherlands at that juncture with a Spanish army.²

Margaret gained nothing, however, by her letters and her envoy, save a round rebuke from Philip, who was not accustomed to brook the language of remonstrance, even from his sister. His purpose was fixed. Absolute submission was now to be rendered by all. "He was highly astonished and dissatisfied," he said, "that she should dare to write to him with so much passion and in so resolute a manner. If she received no other recompense save the glory of having restored the service of God, she ought to express her gratitude to the king for having given her the opportunity of so doing."³

The affectation of clement intentions was still main-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 523.

² Pontus Payen MS. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 536.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 540.

tained, together with the empty pretense of the royal visit. Alva and his army were coming merely to prepare the way for the king, who still represented himself as "debonair and gentle, slow to anger, and averse from bloodshed." Superficial people believed that the king was really coming, and hoped wonders from his advent. The duchess knew better. The pope never believed in it, Granvelle never believed in it, the Prince of Orange never believed in it, Councilor d'Assonleville never believed in it. "His Majesty," says the Walloon historian who wrote from Assonleville's papers, "had many imperative reasons for not coming. He was fond of quiet, he was a great negotiator, distinguished for phlegm and modesty, disinclined to long journeys, particularly to sea voyages, which were very painful to him. Moreover, he was then building his Escorial with so much taste and affection that it was impossible for him to leave home."¹ These excellent reasons sufficed to detain the monarch, in whose place a general was appointed, who, it must be confessed, was neither phlegmatic nor modest, and whose energies were quite equal to the work required. There had in truth never been anything in the king's project of visiting the Netherlands but pretense.²

On the other hand, the work of Orange for the time was finished. He had saved Antwerp, he had done his best to maintain the liberties of the country, the rights of conscience, and the royal authority, so far as they were compatible with each other. The alternative had now been distinctly forced upon every man either to

¹ Renom de France MS., i. 29.

² "Nihil profectionis inerat, præter speciem," says Strada, vi. 280.

promise blind obedience or to accept the position of a rebel. William of Orange had thus become a rebel. He had been requested to sign the new oath, greedily taken by the Mansfelds, the Berlaymonts, the Aerschots, and the Egmonts, to obey every order which he might receive, against every person and in every place, without restriction or limitation,¹ and he had distinctly and repeatedly declined the demand. He had again and again insisted upon resigning all his offices. The duchess, more and more anxious to gain over such an influential personage to the cause of tyranny, had been most importunate in her requisitions. "A man with so noble a heart," she wrote to the prince, "and with a descent from such illustrious and loyal ancestors, can surely not forget his duties to his Majesty and the country."²

William of Orange knew his duty to both better than the duchess could understand. He answered this fresh summons by reminding her that he had uniformly refused the new and extraordinary pledge required of him. He had been true to his old oaths, and therefore no fresh pledge was necessary. Moreover, a pledge without limitation he would never take. The case might happen, he said, that he should be ordered to do things contrary to his conscience, prejudicial to his Majesty's service, and in violation of his oaths to maintain the laws of the country. He therefore once more resigned all his offices, and signified his intention of leaving the provinces.³

Margaret had previously invited him to an interview at Brussels, which he had declined, because he had discovered a conspiracy in that place to "play him a trick."

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, iii. 43-48.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Assonleville had already been sent to him without effect. He had refused to meet a deputation of Fleece Knights at Mechlin, from the same suspicion of foul play. After the termination of the Antwerp tumult, Orange again wrote to the duchess, upon the 19th March, repeating his refusal to take the oath, and stating that he considered himself as at least suspended from all his functions, since she had refused, upon the ground of incapacity, to accept his formal resignation. Margaret now determined, by the advice of the state council, to send Secretary Berty, provided with an ample letter of instructions, upon a special mission to the prince at Antwerp. That respectable functionary performed his task with credit, going through the usual formalities, and adducing the threadbare arguments in favor of the unlimited oath with much adroitness and decorum. He mildly pointed out the impropriety of laying down such responsible posts as those which the prince now occupied at such a juncture. He alluded to the distress which the step must occasion to the debonair sovereign.

William of Orange became somewhat impatient under the official lecture of this secretary to the privy council, a mere man of sealing-wax and protocols. The slender stock of platitudes with which he had come provided was soon exhausted. His arguments shriveled at once in the scorn with which the prince received them. The great statesman, who, it was hoped, would be entrapped to ruin, dishonor, and death by such very feeble artifices, asked indignantly whether it were really expected that he should acknowledge himself perjured to his old obligations by now signing new ones; that he should disgrace himself by an unlimited pledge which might require him to break his oaths to the provincial statutes

and to the emperor; that he should consent to administer the religious edicts which he abhorred; that he should act as executioner of Christians on account of their religious opinions, an office against which his soul revolted; that he should bind himself by an unlimited promise which might require him to put his own wife to death, because she was a Lutheran. Moreover, was it to be supposed that he would obey without restriction any orders issued to him in his Majesty's name, when the king's representative might be a person whose supremacy it ill became one of his race to acknowledge? Was William of Orange to receive absolute commands from the Duke of Alva? Having mentioned that name with indignation, the prince became silent.¹

It was very obvious that no impression was to be made upon the man by formalists. Poor Berty, having conjugated his paradigm conscientiously through all its moods and tenses, returned to his green board in the council-room with his *procès verbal* of the conference. Before he took his leave, however, he prevailed upon Orange to hold an interview with the Duke of Aerschot, Count Mansfeld, and Count Egmont.²

This memorable meeting took place at Willebroek, a village midway between Antwerp and Brussels, in the first week of April. The Duke of Aerschot was prevented from attending, but Mansfeld and Egmont—accompanied by the faithful Berty, to make another *procès verbal*—duly made their appearance.³ The

¹ Strada, vi. 265–268. Hoofd, iv. 130. Corresp. de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 354, 355–369, 370, 391–417.

² Strada, vi. 268.

³ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 416–418. The *procès verbal* made by Berty upon this occasion has been lost (Gachard, note, p. 417; Guillaume le Tacit., ii.). Compare Strada, vi. 268, 269.

prince had never felt much sympathy with Mansfeld, but a tender and honest friendship had always existed between himself and Egmont, notwithstanding the difference of their characters, the incessant artifices employed by the Spanish court to separate them, and the impassable chasm which now existed between their respective positions toward the government.

The same commonplaces of argument and rhetoric were now discussed between Orange and the other three personages, the prince distinctly stating, in conclusion, that he considered himself as discharged from all his offices, and that he was about to leave the Netherlands for Germany. The interview, had it been confined to such formal conversation, would have but little historic interest. Egmont's choice had been made. Several months before he had signified his determination to hold those for enemies who should cease to conduct themselves as faithful vassals, declared himself to be without fear that the country was to be placed in the hands of Spaniards, and disavowed all intention, in any case whatever, of taking arms against the king.¹ His subsequent course, as we have seen, had been entirely in conformity with these solemn declarations. Nevertheless, the prince, to whom they had been made, thought it still possible to withdraw his friend from the precipice upon which he stood, and to save him from his impending fate. His love for Egmont had, in his own noble and pathetic language, "struck its roots too deeply into his heart" to permit him, in this their parting interview, to neglect a last effort, even if this solemn warning were destined to be disregarded.

By any reasonable construction of history, Philip was

¹ Gachard, Preface to vol. ii. Guillaume le Tacit., cix.

an unscrupulous usurper, who was attempting to convert himself from a Duke of Brabant and a Count of Holland into an absolute king. It was William who was maintaining, Philip who was destroying; and the monarch who was thus blasting the happiness of the provinces, and about to decimate their population, was by the same process to undermine his own power forever, and to divest himself of his richest inheritance. The man on whom he might have leaned for support, had he been capable of comprehending his character and of understanding the age in which he had himself been called upon to reign, was, through Philip's own insanity, converted into the instrument by which his most valuable provinces were to be taken from him, and eventually reorganized into an independent commonwealth. Could a vision, like that imagined by the immortal dramatist for another tyrant and murderer, have revealed the future to Philip, he, too, might have beheld his victim, not crowned himself, but pointing to a line of kings, even to some who *twofold balls and treble scepters carried*, and smiling on them for his. But such considerations as these had no effect upon the Prince of Orange. He knew himself already proscribed, and he knew that the secret condemnation had extended to Egmont also. He was anxious that his friend should prefer the privations of exile, with the chance of becoming the champion of a struggling country, to the wretched fate toward which his blind confidence was leading him. Even then it seemed possible that the brave soldier, who had been recently defiling his sword in the cause of tyranny, might become mindful of his brighter and earlier fame. Had Egmont been as true to his native land as, until "the long divorce of steel



LAST INTERVIEW OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND COUNT EGMONT.
Painting by Max Adami.

fell on him," he was faithful to Philip, he might yet have earned brighter laurels than those gained at St-Quentin and Gravelines. Was he doomed to fall, he might find a glorious death upon freedom's battle-field, in place of that darker departure then so near him, which the prophetic language of Orange depicted, but which he was too sanguine to fear. He spoke with confidence of the royal clemency. "Alas, Egmont," answered the prince, "the king's clemency, of which you boast, will destroy you. Would that I might be deceived, but I foresee too clearly that you are to be the bridge which the Spaniards will destroy so soon as they have passed over it to invade our country."¹ With these last solemn words he concluded his appeal to awaken the count from his fatal security. Then, as if persuaded that he was looking upon his friend for the last time, William of Orange threw his arms around Egmont, and held him for a moment in a close embrace. Tears fell from the eyes of both at this parting moment, and then the brief scene of simple and lofty pathos terminated; Egmont and Orange separated from each other, never to meet again on earth.²

¹ Strada, vi. 286. Compare Bentivoglio, iii. 55.

² Strada. Hoofd alludes to a rumor, according to which Egmont said to Orange at parting, "Adieu, landless Prince!" and was answered by his friend with "Adieu, headless Count!" "Men voeght'er by dat zy voorts elkandre, Prins zonder goedt, Graaf zonder hooft, zouden adieu gezeit hebben." The story has been often repeated, yet nothing could well be more insipid than such an invention. Hoofd observes that the whole conversation was reported by a person whom the Calvinists had concealed in the chimney of the apartment where the interview took place. It would be difficult to believe in such epigrams even had the historian himself been in the chimney. He, however, only gives the

A few days afterward Orange addressed a letter to Philip, once more resigning all his offices, and announcing his intention of departing from the Netherlands for Germany. He added that he should be always ready to place himself and his property at the king's orders in everything which he believed conducive to *the true* service of his Majesty.¹ The prince had already received a remarkable warning from old Landgrave Philip of Hesse, who had not forgotten the insidious manner in which his own memorable captivity had been brought about by the arts of Granvelle and of Alva. "Let them not smear your mouths with honey," said the landgrave. "If the three seigniors of whom the Duchess Margaret has had so much to say are invited to court by Alva, under pretext of friendly consultation, let them be wary and think twice ere they accept. I know the Duke of Alva and the Spaniards, and how they dealt with me."²

The prince, before he departed, took a final leave of Horn and Egmont, by letters which, as if aware of the monumental character they were to assume for posterity, he drew up in Latin.³ He desired, now that he was turning his back upon the country, that those two nobles who had refused to imitate and had advised against his course should remember that he was acting deliberately, conscientiously, and in pursuance of a long-settled plan.

To Count Horn he declared himself unable to connive anecdote as a rumor, which he does not himself believe. "Tweik ik nochtans niet zoo zeeker houde," etc.—Hoofd, Nederl. Hist., iv. 131.

¹ Archives et Correspondance, iii. 64, 65.

² Ibid., iii. 42.

³ Ibid., iii. 69–73.

longer at the sins daily committed against the country and his own conscience. He assured him that the government had been accustoming the country to panniers, in order that it might now accept patiently the saddle and bridle. For himself, he said, his back was not strong enough for the weight already imposed upon it, and he preferred to endure any calamity which might happen to him in exile, rather than be compelled by those whom they had all condemned to acquiesce in the object so long and steadily pursued.¹

He reminded Egmont, who had been urging him by letter to remain, that his resolution had been deliberately taken, and long since communicated to his friends. He could not, in conscience, take the oath required; nor would he, now that all eyes were turned upon him, remain in the land, the only recusant. He preferred to encounter all that could happen, rather than attempt to please others by the sacrifice of liberty, of his fatherland, of his own conscience. "I hope, therefore," said he to Egmont in conclusion, "that you, after weighing my reasons, will not disapprove my departure. The rest I leave to God, who will dispose of all as may most conduce to the glory of his name. For yourself, I pray you to believe that you have no more sincere friend than I am. My love for you has struck such deep root into my heart that it can be lessened by no distance of time or place, and I pray you in return to maintain the same feelings toward me which you have always cherished."²

The prince had left Antwerp upon the 11th April, and had written these letters from Breda upon the 13th of

¹ Archives et Correspondance, iii. 69-73.

² Ibid.

the same month. Upon the 22d he took his departure for Dillenburg, the ancestral seat of his family in Germany, by the way of Grave and Cleves.¹

It was not to be supposed that this parting message would influence Egmont's decision with regard to his own movements, when his determination had not been shaken at his memorable interview with the prince. The count's fate was sealed. Had he not been praised by Noircarmes; had he not earned the hypocritical commendations of Duchess Margaret; nay, more, had he not just received a most affectionate letter of thanks and approbation from the King of Spain himself? This letter, one of the most striking monuments of Philip's cold-blooded perfidy, was dated the 26th of March. "I am pleased, my cousin," wrote the monarch to Egmont, "that you have taken the new oath, *not that I considered it at all necessary* so far as regards yourself, but for the example which you have thus given to others, and which I hope they will all follow. I have received not less pleasure in hearing of the excellent manner in which you are doing your duty, the assistance you are rendering and the offers which you are making to my sister, for which I thank you, and request you to continue in the same course."²

The words were written by the royal hand which had already signed the death-warrant of the man to whom they were addressed. Alva, who came provided with full powers to carry out the great scheme resolved upon, unrestrained by provincial laws or by the statutes of the Golden Fleece, had left Madrid to embark for Cartagena at the very moment when Egmont was reading

¹ Archives et Correspondance, iii. 73, 74.

² Foppens, Supplément, ii. 544.

the royal letter.¹ "The Spanish honey," to use once more old Landgrave Philip's homely metaphor, had done its work, and the unfortunate victim was already entrapped.

Count Horn remained in gloomy silence in his lair at Weerdt, awaiting the hunters of men, already on their way. It seemed inconceivable that he, too, who knew himself suspected and disliked, should have thus blinded himself to his position. It will be seen, however, that the same perfidy was to be employed to ensnare him which proved so successful with Egmont.

As for the prince himself, he did not move too soon. Not long after his arrival in Germany, Vandenesse, the king's private secretary, but Orange's secret agent, wrote him word that he had read letters from the king to Alva, in which the duke was instructed to "arrest the prince as soon as he could lay hands upon him, and not to let *his trial last more than twenty-four hours.*"²

Brederode had remained at Vianen, and afterward at Amsterdam, since the ill-starred expedition of Tholouse,

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 528, 15th April, 1567.

² This appears in a document, never yet published, in the Royal Archives at Dresden. It is a report drawn up by Captain von Berlepsch of an interview held with the Prince of Orange, to whom he had been deputed by the Elector Augustus of Saxony. It is to be remarked, moreover, that Augustus at this period (November, 1567) declined receiving the prince at Dresden, while professing the greatest interest in his welfare (unpublished letter from Elector Augustus to Prince W. of Orange, 10th November, 1567, in Dresden Archives). "So hatte auch des Konnings Vortrauter Kemmerling Signor Vandenes auch in grosser geheim warnen laszen dasz ehr hette aufs Konnings tische briefe gesehen ahn Hertzogen von Alba, darin bewohlen, s. fg. nachzutrachten und wan man ihn bekeme, seinen procesz nicht uber 24 Stunden zuvorlengern."—Bericht von Hauptm. v. Berlepsch.

which he had organized, but at which he had not assisted. He had given much annoyance to the magistracy of Amsterdam and to all respectable persons, Calvinist or Catholic. He made much mischief, but excited no hopes in the minds of reformers. He was ever surrounded by a host of pot-companions, swaggering nobles disguised as sailors, bankrupt tradesmen, fugitives and outlaws of every description—excellent people to drink the beggars' health and to bawl the beggars' songs, but quite unfit for any serious enterprise.¹ People of substance were wary of him, for they had no confidence in his capacity, and were afraid of his frequent demands for contributions to the patriotic cause. He spent his time in the pleasure-gardens, shooting at the mark with harquebus or crossbow, drinking with his comrades, and shrieking "Vivent les gueux!"²

The regent, determined to dislodge him, had sent Secretary La Torre to him in March, with instructions that if Brederode refused to leave Amsterdam the magistracy were to call for assistance upon Count Meghen, who had a regiment at Utrecht.³ This clause made it impossible for La Torre to exhibit his instructions to Brederode. Upon his refusal, that personage, although he knew the secretary as well as he knew his own father, coolly informed him that he knew nothing about him; that he did not consider him as respectable a person as he pretended to be; that he did not believe a word of his having any commission from the duchess, and that he should therefore take no notice whatever of his de-

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 434, 454. Bor, iii. 161. Hcofd, v. 127.

² Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 434, 454.

³ Ibid., ii. 439, 440. Bor, iii. 161, 162.

mands. La Torre answered meekly that he was not so presumptuous, nor so destitute of sense, as to put himself into comparison with a gentleman of Count Brederode's quality, but that, as he had served as secretary to the privy council for twenty-three years, he had thought that he might be believed upon his word. Hereupon La Torre drew up a formal protest, and Brederode drew up another. La Torre made a *procès verbal* of their interview, while Brederode stormed like a madman and abused the duchess for a capricious and unreasonable tyrant. He ended by imprisoning La Torre for a day or two, and seizing his papers. By a singular coincidence, these events took place on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of March,¹ the very days of the great Antwerp tumult. The manner in which the Prince of Orange had been dealing with forty or fifty thousand armed men anxious to cut each other's throats, while Brederode was thus occupied in browbeating a pragmatical but decent old secretary, illustrated the difference in caliber of the two men.

This was the count's last exploit. He remained at Amsterdam some weeks longer, but the events which succeeded changed the Hector into a faithful vassal. Before the 12th of April he wrote to Egmont, begging his intercession with Margaret of Parma, and offering *carte blanche* as to terms, if he might only be allowed to make his peace with government.² It was, however, somewhat late in the day for the "great beggar" to make his submission. No terms were accorded him,

¹ Correspondance de Guillaume le Tacit., ii. 444-454.

² " . . . Brederode ha suplicado de ser perdonado y embiado à Monsieur d'Egmont carta blanca."—MS. Letter of Granvelle to Alva, Bibl. de Bourg.

but he was allowed by the duchess to enjoy his revenues provisionally, subject to the king's pleasure. Upon the 25th April he entertained a select circle of friends at his hotel in Amsterdam, and then embarked at midnight for Emden. A numerous procession of his adherents escorted him to the ship, bearing lighted torches and singing bacchanalian songs. He died within a year afterward, of disappointment and hard drinking, at Castle Hardenberg, in Germany, after all his fretting and fury, and notwithstanding his vehement protestations to die a poor soldier at the feet of Louis of Nassau.¹

That "good chevalier and good Christian," as his brother affectionately called him, was in Germany, girding himself for the manly work which Providence had destined him to perform. The life of Brederode, who had engaged in the early struggle perhaps from the frivolous expectation of hearing himself called Count of Holland, as his ancestors had been, had contributed nothing to the cause of freedom, nor did his death occasion regret. His disorderly band of followers dispersed in every direction upon the departure of their chief. A vessel in which Batenburg, Galaina, and other nobles, with their men-at-arms, were escaping toward a German port, was carried into Harlingen, while those gentlemen, overpowered by sleep and wassail, were unaware of their danger, and delivered over to Count Meghen by the treachery of their pilot. The soldiers were immediately hanged. The noblemen were reserved to grace the first great scaffold which Alva was to erect upon the horse-market in Brussels.²

¹ Bor, iii. 168. Hoofd, iv. 135. Vit. Viglii, 51. Compare Bor, Hoofd, ubi sup.

² Pontus Payen MS.

The confederacy was entirely broken to pieces. Of the chieftains to whom the people had been accustomed to look for support and encouragement, some had rallied to the government, some were in exile, some were in prison. Montigny, closely watched in Spain, was virtually a captive, pining for the young bride to whom he had been wedded amid such brilliant festivities but a few months before his departure, and for the child which was never to look upon its father's face.¹ His colleague, Marquis Berghen, more fortunate, was already dead. The excellent Viglius seized the opportunity to put in a good word for Noircarmes, who had been grinding Tournay in the dust and butchering the inhabitants of Valenciennes. "We have heard of Berghen's death," wrote the president to his faithful Joachim. "The Lord of Noircarmes, who has been his substitute in the governorship of Hainault, has given a specimen of what he can do. Although I have no private intimacy with that nobleman, I cannot help embracing him with all my benevolence. Therefore, O my Hopper, pray do your best to have him appointed governor."²

With the departure of Orange a total eclipse seemed to come over the Netherlands. The country was absolutely helpless, the popular heart cold with apprehension. All persons at all implicated in the late troubles, or suspected of heresy, fled from their homes. Fugitive soldiers were hunted into rivers, cut to pieces in the fields, hanged, burned, or drowned like dogs, without quarter, and without remorse. The most industrious and valuable part of the population left the land in

¹ The child was baptized at Tournay on the 1st December, 1566 (Pasquier de la Barre MS., f. 73).

² Foppens, Supplément, ii. 552.

droves. The tide swept outward with such rapidity that the Netherlands seemed fast becoming the desolate waste which they had been before the Christian era. Throughout the country those reformers who were unable to effect their escape betook themselves to their old lurking-places. The new religion was banished from all the cities, every conventicle was broken up by armed men, the preachers and leading members were hanged, their disciples beaten with rods, reduced to beggary, or imprisoned, even if they sometimes escaped the scaffold. An incredible number, however, were executed for religious causes. Hardly a village so small, says the Antwerp chronicler, but that it could furnish one, two, or three hundred victims to the executioner.¹ The new churches were leveled to the ground, and out of their timbers gallowses were constructed.² It was thought an ingenious pleasantry to hang the reformers upon the beams under which they had hoped to worship God. The property of the fugitives was confiscated. The beggars in name became beggars in reality. Many who felt obliged to remain, and who loved their possessions better than their creed, were suddenly converted into the most zealous of Catholics. Persons who had for years not gone to mass never omitted now their daily and nightly visits to the churches.³ Persons who had never spoken to an ecclesiastic but with contumely now could not eat their dinners without one at their table.⁴ Many who were suspected of having participated in Calvinistic rites were foremost and loudest in putting down and denouncing all forms and shows of the Ref-

¹ Meteren, ii. f. 45.

² De la Barre MS., 96. Hoofd, iv. 138. Strada, vi. 278.

³ Bor, iii. 174.

⁴ Ibid.

ormation. The country was as completely "pacified," to use the conqueror's expression, as Gaul had been by Caesar.

The regent issued a fresh edict upon the 24th May, to refresh the memories of those who might have forgotten previous statutes, which were, however, not calculated to make men oblivious. By this new proclamation all ministers and teachers were sentenced to the gallows. All persons who had suffered their houses to be used for religious purposes were sentenced to the gallows. All parents or masters whose children or servants had attended such meetings were sentenced to the gallows, while the children and servants were only to be beaten with rods. All people who sang hymns at the burial of their relations were sentenced to the gallows. Parents who allowed their newly born children to be baptized by other hands than those of the Catholic priest were sentenced to the gallows. The same punishment was denounced against the persons who should christen the child or act as its sponsors. Schoolmasters who should teach any error or false doctrine were likewise to be punished with death. Those who infringed the statutes against the buying and selling of religious books and songs were to receive the same doom after the first offense. All sneers or insults against priests and ecclesiastics were also made capital crimes. Vagabonds, fugitives, apostates, runaway monks, were ordered forthwith to depart from every city on pain of death. In all cases confiscation of the whole property of the criminal was added to the hanging.¹

This edict, says a contemporary historian, increased the fear of those professing the new religion to such an

¹ The edict is published in Bor, iii. 170, 171.

extent that they left the country "in great heaps."¹ It became necessary, therefore, to issue a subsequent proclamation forbidding all persons, whether foreigners or natives, to leave the land or to send away their property, and prohibiting all shipmasters, wagoners, and other agents of travel from assisting in the flight of such fugitives, all upon pain of death.²

Yet will it be credited that the edict of 24th May, the provisions of which have just been sketched, actually excited the wrath of Philip on *account of its clemency*? He wrote to the duchess, expressing the pain and dissatisfaction which he felt that an edict so indecent, so illegal, so contrary to the Christian religion, should have been published. Nothing, he said, could offend or distress him more deeply than any outrage whatever, even the slightest one, offered to God and to his Roman Catholic Church. He therefore commanded his sister instantly to revoke the edict.³ One might almost imagine from reading the king's letter that Philip was at last appalled at the horrors committed in his name. Alas! he was only indignant that hereties had been suffered to hang who ought to have been burned, and that a few narrow and almost impossible loopholes had been left through which those who had offended might effect their escape.

And thus, while the country is paralyzed with present and expected woe, the swiftly advancing trumpets of the Spanish army resound from beyond the Alps. The curtain is falling upon the prelude to the great tragedy which the prophetic lips of Orange had foretold. When it is again lifted, scenes of disaster and of bloodshed, bat-

¹ Bor, iii. 171.

² Ibid., iii. 175.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 550-552.

ties, sieges, executions, deeds of unfaltering but valiant tyranny, of superhuman and successful resistance, of heroic self-sacrifice, fanatical courage and insane cruelty, both in the cause of the wrong and the right, will be revealed in awful succession—a spectacle of human energy, human suffering, and human strength to suffer, such as has not often been displayed upon the stage of the world's events.

PART III

ALVA

1567-1573

CHAPTER I

Continued dissensions in the Spanish cabinet—Ruy Gomez and Alva—Conquest of the Netherlands intrusted to the duke—Birth, previous career, and character of Alva—Organization of the invading army—Its march to the provinces—Complaints of Duchess Margaret—Alva receives deputations on the frontier—Interview between the duke and Egmont—Reception of Alva by the Duchess of Parma—Circular letters to the cities requiring their acceptance of garrisons—Margaret's secret correspondence—Universal apprehension—Keys of the great cities demanded by Alva—Secret plans of the government, arranged before the duke's departure—Arrest of Orange, Egmont, Horn, and others determined upon—Stealthy course of the government toward them—Infatuation of Egmont—Warnings addressed to him by De Billy and others—Measures to entrap Count Horn—Banquet of the grand prior—The grand prior's warning to Egmont—Evil counsels of Noircarmes—Arrests of Egmont, Horn, Bakkerzeel, and Straalen—Popular consternation—Petulant conduct of Duchess Margaret—Characteristic comments of Granvelle—His secret machinations and disclaimers—Berghen and Montigny—Last moments of Marquis Berghen—Perfidy of Ruy Gomez—Establishment of the Blood-Council—Its leading features—Insidious behavior of Viglius—Secret correspondence, concerning the president, between Philip and Alva—Members of the Blood-Council—Portraits of Vargas and Hessels—Mode of proceeding adopted by the council—Wholesale executions—Despair in the provinces—The resignation of Duchess Margaret accepted—Her departure from the Netherlands—Renewed civil war in France—Death of Montmorency—Auxiliary troops sent by Alva to France—Erection of Antwerp citadel—Description of the citadel.

THE armed invasion of the Netherlands was the necessary consequence of all which had gone before. That the inevitable result had been so long deferred lay rather in the incomprehensible tardiness of Philip's character than in the circumstances of the case. Never did a monarch hold so steadfastly to a deadly purpose, or proceed so languidly and with so much circumvolution to his goal. The mask of benignity, of possible clemency, was now thrown off, but the delusion of his intended visit to the provinces was still maintained. He assured the regent that he should be governed by her advice, and as she had made all needful preparations to receive him in Zealand, that it would be in Zealand he should arrive.¹

The same two men among Philip's advisers were prominent as at an earlier day—the Prince of Eboli and the Duke of Alva. They still represented entirely opposite ideas, and in character, temper, and history each was the reverse of the other. The policy of the prince was pacific and temporizing, that of the duke uncompromising and ferocious. Ruy Gomez was disposed to prevent, if possible, the armed mission of Alva, and he now openly counseled the king to fulfil his long-deferred promise and to make his appearance in person before his rebellious subjects. The jealousy and hatred which existed between the prince and the duke—between the man of peace and the man of wrath—were constantly exploding, even in the presence of the king. The wrangling in the council was incessant. Determined, if possible, to prevent the elevation of his rival, the favorite was even for a moment disposed to ask for the command of the army himself. There was something

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 550.

ludicrous in the notion that a man whose life had been pacific and who trembled at the noise of arms should seek to supersede the terrible Alva, of whom his eulogists asserted, with Castilian exaggeration, that the very name of fear inspired him with horror. But there was a limit beyond which the influence of Anna de Mendoza and her husband did not extend. Philip was not to be driven to the Netherlands against his will, nor to be prevented from assigning the command of the army to the most appropriate man in Europe for his purpose.¹

It was determined at last that the Netherland heresy should be conquered by force of arms. The invasion resembled both a crusade against the infidel and a treasure-hunting foray into the auriferous Indies, achievements by which Spanish chivalry had so often illustrated itself. The banner of the cross was to be replanted upon the conquered battlements of three hundred infidel cities, and a torrent of wealth, richer than ever flowed from Mexican or Peruvian mines, was to flow into the royal treasury from the perennial fountains of confiscation. Who so fit to be the Tancred and the Pizarro of this bicolored expedition as the Duke of Alva, the man who had been devoted from his earliest childhood, and from his father's grave, to hostility against unbelievers, and who had prophesied that treasure would flow in a stream a yard deep from the Netherlands as soon as the heretics began to meet with their deserts? An army of chosen troops was forthwith collected, by taking the four legions, or *terzios*, of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Lombardy, and filling their places in Italy by fresh levies. About ten thousand picked and veteran soldiers

¹ Cabrera, l. 7, c. vii. p. 414. Strada, i. 282, 283. Hist. du Duc d'Albe, ii. 155, 242.

were thus obtained, of which the Duke of Alva was appointed general-in-chief.¹

Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, was now in his sixtieth year. He was the most successful and experienced general of Spain or of Europe. No man had studied more deeply or practised more constantly the military science. In the most important of all arts at that epoch he was the most consummate artist. In the only honorable profession of the age he was the most thorough and the most pedantic professor. Since the days of Demetrius Poliorcetes no man had besieged so many cities. Since the days of Fabius Cunctator no general had avoided so many battles, and no soldier, courageous as he was, ever attained to a more sublime indifference to calumny or depreciation. Having proved in his boyhood at Fontarabia, and in his maturity at Mühlberg, that he could exhibit heroism and headlong courage when necessary, he could afford to look with contempt upon the witless gibes which his enemies had occasionally perpetrated at his expense. Conscious of holding his armies in his hand by the power of an unrivaled discipline and the magic of a name illustrated by a hundred triumphs, he could bear with patience and benevolence the murmurs of his soldiers when their battles were denied them.

He was born in 1508, of a family which boasted imperial descent. A Palæologus, brother of a Byzantine emperor, had conquered the city of Toledo and transmitted its appellation as a family name.² The father of

¹ Brandt, *Hist. der Ref.*, i. 496. De Thou, v. l. 41, pp. 289, 290. Bernº de Mendoza, *Guerras de los payses baxos*, etc., 20, 21, 29.

² De la Roca, *Resultas de la Vida de Don F. A. de T. Duque de Alva*, p. 3. *Hist. du Duc d'Albe*, i. 5.

Fernando, Don Garcia, had been slain on the isle of Gerbes, in battle with the Moors, when his son was but four years of age.¹ The child was brought up by his grandfather, Don Frederick, and trained from his tenderest infancy to arms. Hatred to the infidel, and a determination to avenge his father's blood, crying to him from a foreign grave, were the earliest of his instincts. As a youth he was distinguished for his prowess. His maiden sword was fleshed at Fontarabia, where, although but sixteen years of age, he was considered, by his constancy in hardship, by his brilliant and desperate courage, and by the example of military discipline which he afforded to the troops, to have contributed in no small degree to the success of the Spanish arms.

In 1530 he accompanied the emperor in his campaign against the Turk. Charles, instinctively recognizing the merit of the youth who was destined to be the life-long companion of his toils and glories, distinguished him with his favor at the opening of his career. Young, brave, and enthusiastic, Fernando de Toledo at this period was as interesting a hero as ever illustrated the pages of Castilian romance. His mad ride from Hungary to Spain and back again, accomplished in seventeen days, for the sake of a brief visit to his newly married wife, is not the least attractive episode in the history of an existence which was destined to be so dark and sanguinary. In 1535 he accompanied the emperor on his memorable expedition to Tunis. In 1546 and 1547 he was generalissimo in the war against the Smalkaldic League. His most brilliant feat of arms—perhaps the most brilliant exploit of the emperor's reign—was the passage of the Elbe and the battle of Mühlberg, accom-

¹ Hist. du Duc d'Albe, i. 8.

plished in spite of Maximilian's bitter and violent reproaches and the tremendous possibilities of a defeat.¹ That battle had finished the war. The gigantic and magnanimous John Frederick, surprised at his devotions in the church, fled in dismay, leaving his boots behind him, which for their superhuman size were ridiculously said afterward to be treasured among the trophies of the Toledo house.² The rout was total. "I came, I saw, and God conquered," said the emperor, in pious parody of his immortal predecessor's epigram. Maximilian, with a thousand apologies for his previous insults, embraced the heroic Don Fernando over and over again, as, arrayed in a plain suit of blue armor, unadorned save with streaks of his enemies' blood, he returned from pursuit of the fugitives. So complete and so sudden was the victory that it was found impossible to account for it, save on the ground of miraculous interposition. Like Joshua in the vale of Ajalon, Don Fernando was supposed to have commanded the sun to stand still for a season, and to have been obeyed. Otherwise, how could the passage of the river, which was only concluded at six in the evening, and the complete overthrow of the Protestant forces, have all been accomplished within the narrow space of an April twi-

¹ Hist. du Duc d'Albe, liv. i. c. vii. De Thou, liv. iv.

² Hist. du Duc d'Albe, i. 274. Brantôme, *Hom. Illust.*, etc. (ch. v.), says that one of the boots was "large enough to hold a camp-bedstead" (p. 11). I insert the anecdote only as a specimen of the manner in which similar absurdities, both of great and of little consequence, are perpetuated by writers in every land and age. The armor of the noble-hearted and unfortunate John Frederick may still be seen in Dresden. Its size indicates a man very much above the average height, while the external length of the iron shoe, on the contrary, is less than eleven inches.

light? The reply of the duke to Henry II. of France, who questioned him subsequently upon the subject, is well known: "Your Majesty, I was too much occupied that evening with what was taking place on the earth beneath to pay much heed to the evolutions of the heavenly bodies." Spared as he had been by his good fortune from taking any part in the Algerine expedition, or in witnessing the ignominious retreat from Innsbruck, he was obliged to submit to the intercalation of the disastrous siege of Metz in the long history of his successes. Doing the duty of a field-marshal and a sentinel, supporting his army by his firmness and his discipline when nothing else could have supported them, he was at last enabled, after half the hundred thousand men with whom Charles had begun the siege had been sacrificed, to induce his imperial master to raise the siege before the remaining fifty thousand had been frozen or starved to death.¹

The culminating career of Alva seemed to have closed in the mist which gathered around the setting star of the empire. Having accompanied Philip to England in 1554 on his matrimonial expedition, he was destined in the following years, as viceroy and generalissimo of Italy, to be placed in a series of false positions. A great captain engaged in a little war, the champion of the cross in arms against the successor of St. Peter, he had extricated himself at last with his usual adroitness, but with very little glory.² To him had been allotted the mortification, to another the triumph. The luster of his own name seemed to sink in the ocean, while that

¹ Hist. du Duc d'Albe, i. 272-283, liv. iii. chaps. 21-24.

² Ibid., liv. iv. et v. De Thou, liv. xviii. De la Roca, Resultas, etc., 68-72.

of a hated rival, with new-spangled ore, suddenly "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." While he had been paltering with a dotard, whom he was forbidden to crush, Egmont had struck down the chosen troops of France and conquered her most illustrious commanders. Here was the unpardonable crime which could only be expiated by the blood of the victor. Unfortunately for his rival, the time was now approaching when the long-deferred revenge was to be satisfied.

On the whole, the Duke of Alva was inferior to no general of his age. As a disciplinarian he was foremost in Spain, perhaps in Europe. A spendthrift of time, he was an economist of blood, and this was, perhaps, in the eye of humanity, his principal virtue. "Time and myself are two," was a frequent observation of Philip, and his favorite general considered the maxim as applicable to war as to politics. Such were his qualities as a military commander. As a statesman he had neither experience nor talent. As a man his character was simple. He did not combine a great variety of vices, but those which he had were colossal, and he possessed no virtues. He was neither lustful nor intemperate, but his professed eulogists admitted his enormous avarice, while the world has agreed that such an amount of stealth and ferocity, of patient vindictiveness and universal bloodthirstiness, was never found in a savage beast of the forest, and but rarely in a human bosom. His history was now to show that his previous thrift of human life was not derived from any love of his kind. Personally he was stern and overbearing. As difficult of access as Philip himself, he was even more haughty to those who were admitted to his presence. He addressed every one with the deprecating second person

plural.¹ Possessing the right of being covered in the presence of the Spanish monarch, he had been with difficulty brought to renounce it before the German emperor.² He was of an illustrious family, but his territorial possessions were not extensive. His duchy was a small one, furnishing him with not more than fourteen thousand crowns of annual income, and with four hundred soldiers.³ He had, however, been a thrifty financier all his life, never having been without a handsome sum of ready money at interest. Ten years before his arrival in the Netherlands he was supposed to have already increased his income to forty thousand a year by the proceeds of his investments at Antwerp.⁴ As already intimated, his military character was sometimes profoundly misunderstood. He was often considered rather a pedantic than a practical commander, more capable to discourse of battles than to gain them. Notwithstanding that his long life had been an almost unbroken campaign, the ridiculous accusation of timidity was frequently made against him.⁵ A gentleman at the court of the Emperor Charles once addressed a letter to the duke with the title of "General of his Majesty's

¹ V. d. Vynekt, ii. 41.

² Ibid., ii. 42.

³ Badovaro MS.

⁴ "Ha d'entrata come Duca $\frac{m}{14}$ seudi, ma fino a $\frac{m}{40}$ per danari investiti in Anversa et se stima che egli si trova sempre buona somma di contanti."—Ibid.

⁵ "Ha visto et maneggiato molte guerre et per la prattica che ha discorre meglio che io habbia mai conosciuto in quella corte—ma le due opposizioni l'una che facci le provisioni sue con troppo reservato et cauto et quasi timido nell' imprese."—Suriano MS.

Badovaro is much more severe: "nella guerra mostra timidità et poca intelligenza et poco stimato nella corte come per persona avara, superba et ambitiosa; adulatore et invido molto et di puochissimo cuore."

armies in the duchy of Milan in time of peace, and majordomo of the household in the time of war.”¹ It was said that the lesson did the duke good, but that he rewarded very badly the nobleman who gave it, having subsequently caused his head to be taken off.² In general, however, Alva manifested a philosophical contempt for the opinions expressed concerning his military fame, and was especially disdainful of criticism expressed by his own soldiers. “Recollect,” said he, at a little later period, to Don John of Austria, “that the first foes with whom one has to contend are one’s own troops, with their clamors for an engagement at this moment, and their murmurs about results at another; with their ‘I thought that the battle should be fought,’ or, ‘It was my opinion that the occasion ought not to be lost.’ Your Highness will have opportunity enough to display valor, and will never be weak enough to be conquered by the babble of soldiers.”³

In person he was tall, thin, erect, with a small head, a long visage, lean yellow cheeks, dark twinkling eyes, adust complexion, black bristling hair, and a long sable-silvered beard, descending in two waving streams upon his breast.⁴

¹ This anecdote is attributed by Dom l’Evesque and by M. Gachard to Badovaro. It is, however, not to be found in the copy of his MS. in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne.

² Dom l’Evesque, *Mém. de Granvelle*, i. 26 sqq. The Benedictine does not further indicate the author of the pleasantry. One is disposed to imagine it to have been Egmont. Nevertheless, the duke caused the heads of so many gentlemen to be taken off that the description is sufficiently vague.

³ *Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España*, iii. 273–283.

⁴ “Di persona grande, magra, piccola testa, collerico et adusto.”—Badovaro MS.

There is a very good contemporary portrait of the duke, by Ba-

Such being the design, the machinery was well selected. The best man in Europe to lead the invading force was placed at the head of ten thousand picked veterans. The privates in this exquisite little army,¹ said the enthusiastic connoisseur Brantôme, who traveled post into Lorraine expressly to see them on their march, all wore engraved or gilded armor, and were in every respect equipped like captains. They were the first who carried muskets, a weapon which very much astonished the Flemings when it first rattled in their ears. The musketeers, he observed, might have been mistaken for princes, with such agreeable and graceful arrogance did they present themselves. Each was attended by his servant or esquire, who carried his piece for him, except in battle, and all were treated with extreme deference by the rest of the army, as if they had been officers.² The four regiments of Lombardy, Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples composed a total of not quite nine thousand of the best foot-soldiers in Europe. They were commanded respectively by Don Sancho de Lodroño, Don Gonzalo de Bracamonte, Julien Romero, and Alfonso de Ulloa, all distinguished and experienced generals.³ The cavalry, amounting to about twelve hundred, was under the command of the natural son of the duke, Don Fernando de Toledo, Prior of the Knights of St. John. Chiapin Vitelli, Marquis of Cetona, who had served the king in many a campaign, was appointed *maréchal-de-camp*,

rends, in the royal gallery at Amsterdam, which accords very exactly with the descriptions preserved concerning his person.

¹ "Gentille et gaillarde armée."

² Brantôme, *Grands Capitaines Estrangers*, etc. (usâ 75) (Duc d'Albe).

³ Mendoza, *Guerras de los payses baxos*, fol. 20, 21, 29, 30.

and Gabriel Cerbelloni was placed in command of the artillery. On the way the duke received, as a present from the Duke of Savoy, the services of the distinguished engineer Pacheco, or Paciotti,¹ whose name was to be associated with the most celebrated citadel of the Netherlands, and whose dreadful fate was to be contemporaneous with the earliest successes of the liberal party.

With an army thus perfect, on a small scale, in all its departments, and furnished, in addition, with a force of two thousand prostitutes, as regularly enrolled, disciplined, and distributed² as the cavalry or the artillery, the duke embarked upon his momentous enterprise on the 10th of May at Cartagena. Thirty-seven galleys, under command of Prince Andrea Doria, brought the principal part of the force to Genoa, the duke being delayed a few days at Nice by an attack of fever. On the 2d of June the army was mustered at Alexandria de Palla, and ordered to rendezvous again at San Ambrosio, at the foot of the Alps. It was then directed to make its way over Mont Cenis and through Savoy, Burgundy, and Lorraine, by a regularly arranged triple movement. The second division was each night to encamp on the spot

¹ Hoofd, iv. 148.

² Ibid. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 565. "On dit qu'ils ont plus de deux milles putaines avecques eux, tellement que nous ne serons en faulte des putaines avecq ceulx que nous avons."—Lett. de Jean de Hornes à Arnoul Munten.

Brantôme particularly commends the organization of this department. "De plus il y avoit quatre cens courtezanes à cheval, *belles et braves comme princesses*, et huit cens à pied, *bien à point aussi*."—Vie des Grands Hommes, etc. (usâ p. 80) (Duc d'Albe).

Such was the moral physiognomy of the army which came to enforce the high religious purposes of Philip. In such infamous shape was the will of God supposed to manifest itself before the eyes of the heretics in the Netherlands.

which had been occupied upon the previous night by the vanguard, and the rear was to place itself on the following night in the camp of the corps de bataille.¹ Thus coiling itself along almost in a single line by slow and serpentine windings, with a deliberate, deadly, venomous purpose, this army, which was to be the instrument of Philip's long-deferred vengeance, stole through narrow mountain-pass and tangled forest. So close and intricate were many of the defiles through which the journey led them² that, had one tithe of the treason which they came to punish ever existed, save in the diseased imagination of their monarch, not one man would have been left to tell the tale. Egmont, had he really been the traitor and the conspirator he was assumed to be, might have easily organized the means of cutting off the troops before they could have effected their entrance into the country which they had doomed to destruction. His military experience, his qualifications for a daring stroke, his great popularity, and the intense hatred entertained for Alva, would have furnished him with a sufficient machinery for the purpose.

Twelve days' march carried the army through Burgundy, twelve more through Lorraine. During the whole of the journey they were closely accompanied by a force of cavalry and infantry, ordered upon this service by the King of France, who, for fear of exciting a fresh Huguenot demonstration, had refused the Spaniards a passage through his dominions. This reconnoitering army kept pace with them like their shadow, and watched all their movements. A force of six thousand Swiss, equally alarmed and uneasy at the progress of the troops, hovered likewise about their flanks, without,

¹ B. de Mendoza, 30.

² Ibid., 30, 31.

however, offering any impediment to their advance. Before the middle of August they had reached Thionville, on the Luxemburg frontier, having on the last day marched a distance of two leagues through a forest which seemed expressly arranged to allow a small defensive force to embarrass and destroy an invading army. No opposition, however, was attempted, and the Spanish soldiers encamped at last within the territory of the Netherlands, having accomplished their adventurous journey in entire safety and under perfect discipline.¹

The duchess had in her secret letters to Philip continued to express her disapprobation of the enterprise thus committed to Alva. She had bitterly complained that now, when the country had been pacified by her efforts, another should be sent to reap all the glory, or perhaps to undo all that she had so painfully and so successfully done. She stated to her brother, in most unequivocal language, that the name of Alva was odious enough to make the whole Spanish nation detested in the Netherlands. She could find no language sufficiently strong to express her surprise that the king should have decided upon a measure likely to be attended with such fatal consequences without consulting her on the subject, and in opposition to what had been her uniform advice. She also wrote personally to Alva, imploring, commanding, and threatening, but with equally ill success.² The duke knew too well who was sovereign of the Netherlands now, his master's sister or himself. As to the effects of his armed invasion upon the temper of the provinces, he was supremely indifferent. He came as a conqueror, not

¹ B. de Mendoza, 30, 31.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 546, 556, etc. Strada, i. 289. Hoofd, iv. 148. Strada, i. 292.

as a mediator. "I have tamed people of iron in my day," said he, contemptuously; "shall I not easily crush these men of butter?"¹

At Thionville he was, however, officially waited upon by Berlaymont and Noircarmes, on the part of the regent. He at this point, moreover, began to receive deputations from various cities, bidding him a hollow and trembling welcome, and deprecating his displeasure for anything in the past which might seem offensive. To all such embassies he replied in vague and conventional language, saying, however, to his confidential attendants, "I am here—so much is certain; whether I am welcome or not is to me a matter of little consequence."² At Tirlemont, on the 22d August, he was met by Count Egmont, who had ridden forth from Brussels to show him a becoming respect as the representative of his sovereign. The count was accompanied by several other noblemen, and brought to the duke a present of several beautiful horses.³ Alva received him, however, but coldly, for he was unable at first to adjust the mask to his countenance as adroitly as was necessary. "Behold the greatest of all the heretics!" he observed to his attendants, as soon as the nobleman's presence was announced, and in a voice loud enough for him to hear.⁴ Even after they had exchanged salutations, he addressed several remarks to him in a half-jesting, half-biting tone, saying, among other things, that his countship might have spared him the trouble of making this

¹ Hoofd, iv. 148.

² Bor, iv. 182.

³ MS., 12-941, Bib. de Bourg. Troubles des Pays-Bas de Jean de Grutere, Extraits par M. Emile Gachet (1st Août, 1847).

⁴ Bor, iv. 182. Hoofd, iv. 150.

long journey in his old age.¹ There were other observations in a similar strain which might have well aroused the suspicion of any man not determined, like Egmont, to continue blind and deaf. After a brief interval, however, Alva seems to have commanded himself. He passed his arm lovingly over that stately neck,² which he had already devoted to the block, and—the count having resolved beforehand to place himself, if possible, upon amicable terms with the new viceroy—the two rode along side by side in friendly conversation, followed by the regiment of infantry and three companies of light horse which belonged to the duke's immediate command.³ Alva, still attended by Egmont, rode soon afterward through the Louvain Gate into Brussels, where they separated for a season. Lodgings had been taken for the duke at the house of a certain Madame de Jasse,⁴ in the neighborhood of Egmont's palace. Leaving here the principal portion of his attendants, the captain-general, without alighting, forthwith proceeded to the palace to pay his respects to the Duchess of Parma.

For three days the regent had been deliberating with her council as to the propriety of declining any visit from the man whose presence she justly considered a disgrace and an insult to herself.⁵ This being the reward of her eight years' devotion to her brother's commands, to be superseded by a subject, and one, too, who came to carry out a policy which she had urgently deprecated, it could hardly be expected of the emperor's daughter that she should graciously submit to the indig-

¹ Jean de Grutere MS., Extraits de M. Gachet.

² Hoofd, iv. 150.

³ Jean de Grutere MS., Extraits de M. Gachet.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 631.

nity and receive her successor with a smiling countenance. In consequence, however, of the submissive language with which the duke had addressed her in his recent communications, offering, with true Castilian but empty courtesy, to place his guards, his army, and himself at her feet, she had consented to receive his visit with or without his attendants.¹

On his appearance in the courtyard, a scene of violent altercation and almost of bloodshed took place between his body-guard and the archers of the regent's household, who were at last, with difficulty, persuaded to allow the mercenaries of the hated captain-general to pass.² Presenting himself at three o'clock in the afternoon, after these not very satisfactory preliminaries, in the bedchamber of the duchess, where it was her habit to grant confidential audiences, he met, as might easily be supposed, with a chilling reception. The duchess, standing motionless in the center of the apartment, attended by Berlaymont, the Duke of Aerschot, and Count Egmont, acknowledged his salutations with calm severity. Neither she nor any one of her attendants advanced a step to meet him. The duke took off his hat, but she, calmly recognizing his right as a Spanish grandee, insisted upon his remaining covered. A stiff and formal conversation of half an hour's duration then ensued, all parties remaining upon their feet.³ The duke, although respectful, found it difficult to conceal his indignation and his haughty sense of approaching triumph. Margaret was cold, stately, and forbidding, disguising her rage and her mortification under a veil of imperial pride.⁴

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 631.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Strada, i. 297.

Alva, in a letter to Philip describing the interview, assured his Majesty that he had treated the duchess with as much deference as he could have shown to the queen,¹ but it is probable, from other contemporaneous accounts, that an ill-disguised and even angry arrogance was at times very visible in his demeanor. The state council had advised the duchess against receiving him until he had duly exhibited his powers. This ceremony had been waived, but upon being questioned by the duchess at this interview as to their nature and extent, he is reported to have coolly answered that he really did not exactly remember, but that he would look them over and send her information at his earliest convenience.²

The next day, however, his commission was duly exhibited. In this document, which bore date 31st January, 1567, Philip appointed him to be captain-general "in correspondence with his Majesty's dear sister of Parma, who was occupied with other matters belonging to the government," begged the duchess to coöperate with him and to command obedience for him, and ordered all the cities of the Netherlands to receive such garrisons as he should direct.³

At the official interview between Alva and Madame de Parma, at which these powers were produced, the necessary preliminary arrangements were made regarding the Spanish troops, which were now to be immediately quartered in the principal cities. The duke, however, informed the regent that, as these matters were not within her province, he should take the liberty of arranging them with the authorities, without troubling her in the

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 636.

² V. d. Vynekt, ii. 53.

³ Bor, iv. 182, 183.

matter, and would inform her of the result of his measures at their next interview, which was to take place on the 26th August.¹

Circular letters signed by Philip, which Alva had brought with him, were now despatched to the different municipal bodies of the country. In these the cities were severally commanded to accept the garrisons, and to provide for the armies whose active services the king hoped would not be required, but which he had sent beforehand to prepare a peaceful entrance for himself. He enjoined the most absolute obedience to the Duke of Alva until his own arrival, which was to be almost immediate. These letters were dated at Madrid on the 28th February, and were now accompanied by a brief official circular, signed by Margaret of Parma, in which she announced the arrival of her dear cousin of Alva, and demanded unconditional submission to his authority.²

Having thus complied with these demands of external and conventional propriety, the indignant duchess unbosomed herself, in her private Italian letters to her brother, of the rage which had been hitherto partially suppressed. She reiterated her profound regret that Philip had not yet accepted the resignation which she had so recently and so earnestly offered. She disclaimed all jealousy of the supreme powers now conferred upon Alva, but thought that his Majesty might have allowed her to leave the country before the duke arrived with an authority which was so extraordinary, as well as so humiliating to herself. Her honor might thus have been saved. She was pained to perceive that she was like to furnish a perpetual example to all others, who, consider-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 632.

² Bor, iv. 183, 184.

ing the manner in which she had been treated by the king, would henceforth have but little inducement to do their duty. At no time, on no occasion, could any person ever render him such services as hers had been. For nine years she had enjoyed not a moment of repose. If the king had shown her but little gratitude, she was consoled by the thought that she had satisfied her God, herself, and the world. She had compromised her health, perhaps her life, and now that she had pacified the country, now that the king was more absolute, more powerful than ever before, another was sent to enjoy the fruit of her labors and her sufferings.¹

The duchess made no secret of her indignation at being thus superseded and, as she considered the matter, outraged. She openly avowed her displeasure. She was at times almost beside herself with rage. There was universal sympathy with her emotions, for all hated the duke and shuddered at the arrival of the Spaniards. The day of doom for all the crimes which had ever been committed in the course of ages seemed now to have dawned upon the Netherlands. The sword which had so long been hanging over them seemed now about to descend. Throughout the provinces there was but one feeling of cold and hopeless dismay. Those who still saw a possibility of effecting their escape from the fated land swarmed across the frontier. All foreign merchants deserted the great marts. The cities became as still as if the plague-banner had been unfurled on every housetop.

Meantime the captain-general proceeded methodically with his work. He distributed his troops through Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, and other principal cities. As a

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 635. Strada, i. 298.

measure of necessity and mark of the last humiliation, he required the municipalities to transfer their keys to his keeping. The magistrates of Ghent humbly remonstrated against the indignity, and Egmont was imprudent enough to make himself the mouthpiece of their remonstrance, which, it is needless to add, was unsuccessful.¹ Meantime his own day of reckoning had arrived.

As already observed, the advent of Alva at the head of a foreign army was the natural consequence of all which had gone before. The delusion of the royal visit was still maintained, and the affectation of a possible clemency still displayed, while the monarch sat quietly in his cabinet without a remote intention of leaving Spain, and while the messengers of his accumulated and long-concealed wrath were already descending upon their prey. It was the deliberate intention of Philip, when the duke was despatched to the Netherlands, that all the leaders of the anti-Inquisition party and all who had at any time or in any way implicated themselves in opposition to the government or in censure of its proceedings should be put to death. It was determined that the provinces should be subjugated to the absolute domination of the council of Spain, a small body of foreigners sitting at the other end of Europe, a junta in which Netherlanders were to have no voice and exercise no influence. The despotic government of the Spanish and Italian possessions was to be extended to these Flemish territories, which were thus to be converted into the helpless dependencies of a *foreign and an absolute crown*.²

¹ Bor, iv. 184. Hoofd, iv. 150.

² " . . . touchant l'ordre qu'il devoit tenir audiet pays . . . l'on s'est peu appercevoir que l'intention estait de meetre avec le

There was to be a reorganization of the Inquisition, upon the same footing claimed for it before the outbreak of the troubles, together with a reënactment and vigorous enforcement of the famous edicts against heresy.¹

Such was the scheme recommended by Granvelle and Spinosa, and to be executed by Alva.² As part and parcel of this plan, it was also arranged at secret meetings at the house of Spinosa, before the departure of the duke, that all the seigniors against whom the Duchess Margaret had made so many complaints, especially the Prince of Orange, with the Counts Egmont, Horn, and Hoogstraaten, should be immediately arrested and brought to chastisement. The Marquis Berghen and the Baron Montigny, being already in Spain, could be dealt with at pleasure. It was also decided that the gentlemen implicated in the confederacy or Compromise should at once be proceeded against for high treason, without any regard to the promise of pardon granted by the duchess.

The general features of the great project having been thus mapped out, a few indispensable preliminaries were at once executed. In order that Egmont, Horn, and other distinguished victims might not take alarm, and thus escape the doom deliberately arranged for them, royal assurances were despatched to the Netherlands,

temps l'ordre de l'administration de justice et gouvernement à la façon d'Espagne, en quoy le feu Courtewille et moy avons toujours resisté."—Confessions of Councilor Louis del Ryo.

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 562.

² "Et que mesmement le Cardinal Granvelle et President Viglius, M. de Berlaymont et Noircarmes auraient à sa Majesté conseillé le même. Voires expressement qu'il convenoit une armée d'espaignolz avecq quelque chef pour maintenir le pays en l'obeissance de sa Majesté et en la religion Catholique. Et que le Duc d'Alve

cheering their despondency and dispelling their doubts. With his own hand Philip wrote the letter, full of affection and confidence, to Egmont, to which allusion has already been made. He wrote it *after* Alva had left Madrid upon his mission of vengeance. The same stealthy measures were pursued with regard to others. The Prince of Orange was not capable of falling into the royal trap, however cautiously baited. Unfortunately, he could not communicate his wisdom to his friends.

It is difficult to comprehend so very sanguine a temperament as that to which Egmont owed his destruction. It was not the Prince of Orange alone who had prophesied his doom. Warnings had come to the count from every quarter, and they were now frequently repeated. Certainly he was not without anxiety, but he had made his decision, determined to believe in the royal word, and in the royal gratitude for his services rendered not only against Montmorency and De Thermes, but against the heretics of Flanders. He was, however, much changed. He had grown prematurely old. At forty-six years his hair was white, and he never slept without pistols under his pillow.¹ Nevertheless, he affected, and sometimes felt, a light-heartedness which surprised all around him. The Portuguese gentleman Robles, Seigneur de Billy, who had returned early in the summer

fut envoyé pour chef par conseil du Cardinal Spinosa et *advis du Cardinal de Granvelle*, comme il est assez apparu par *plusieurs lettres escriptes* en ce temps là à ses amys, et tout ceey est aussy selon *la commune opinion*. . . . Sur le second scavoir les motifs et raisons qui en ont esté pour persuader au Roy de l'envoyer, ne puis dire aultre sinon que leur sembloit selon que j'ay peu entendre que le Roy par ce *moyen se debvroit faire absolut Roy* et restablir la religion Catholique."—Confessions of Del Ryo.

¹ Groen v. Prinst., Archives, etc. Supplément, 35, 36.

from Spain, whither he had been sent upon a confidential mission by Madame de Parma, is said to have made repeated communications to Egmont as to the dangerous position in which he stood.¹ Immediately after his arrival in Brussels he had visited the count, then confined to his house by an injury caused by the fall of his horse. "Take care to get well very fast," said De Billy, "for there are very bad stories told about you in Spain." Egmont laughed heartily at the observation, as if nothing could well be more absurd than such a warning. His friend—for De Billy is said to have felt a real attachment to the count—persisted in his prophecies, telling him that "birds in the field sang much more sweetly than those in cages," and that he would do well to abandon the country before the arrival of Alva.²

These warnings were repeated almost daily by the same gentleman, and by others, who were more and more astonished at Egmont's infatuation. Nevertheless, he had disregarded their admonitions, and had gone forth to meet the duke at Tirlemont. Even then he might have seen, in the coldness of his first reception, and in the disrespectful manner of the Spanish soldiers, who not only did not at first salute him, but who murmured audibly that he was a Lutheran and traitor, that he was not so great a favorite with the government at Madrid as he desired to be.

After the first few moments, however, Alva's manner had changed, while Chiapin Vitelli, Gabriel Cerbelloni, and other principal officers received the count with great courtesy, even upon his first appearance. The grand prior, Fernando de Toledo, natural son of the duke, and already a distinguished soldier, seems to have

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid.

felt a warm and unaffected friendship for Egmont, whose brilliant exploits in the field had excited his youthful admiration, and of whose destruction he was, nevertheless, compelled to be the unwilling instrument.¹ For a few days, accordingly, after the arrival of the new governor-general all seemed to be going smoothly. The grand prior and Egmont became exceedingly intimate, passing their time together in banquets, masquerades, and play,² as joyously as if the merry days which had succeeded the treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis were returned. The duke, too, manifested the most friendly dispositions, taking care to send him large presents of Spanish and Italian fruits, received frequently by the government couriers.³

Lapped in this fatal security, Egmont not only forgot his fears, but unfortunately succeeded in inspiring Count Horn with a portion of his confidence. That gentleman had still remained in his solitary mansion at Weerdt, notwithstanding the artful means which had been used to lure him from that "desert." It is singular that the very same person who, according to a well-informed Catholic contemporary, had been most eager to warn Egmont of his danger had also been the foremost instrument for effecting the capture of the admiral. The Seigneur de Billy, on the day after his arrival from Madrid, had written to Horn, telling him that the king was highly pleased with his services and character. De Billy also stated that he had been commissioned by Philip to express distinctly the royal gratitude for the count's conduct, adding that his Majesty was about to visit the Netherlands in August, and would prob-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 574.

² Pontus Payen MS.

³ Ibid.

ably be preceded or accompanied by Baron Montigny.¹

Alva and his son Don Fernando had soon afterward addressed letters from Gerverbiller (dated 26th and 27th July) to Count Horn, filled with expressions of friendship and confidence.² The admiral, who had sent one of his gentlemen to greet the duke, now responded from Weerdt that he was very sensible of the kindness manifested toward him, but that, for reasons which his secretary, Alonzo de la Loo, would more fully communicate, he must for the present beg to be excused from a personal visit to Brussels. The secretary was received by Alva with extreme courtesy.³ The duke expressed infinite pain that the king had not yet rewarded Count Horn's services according to their merit, said that a year before he had told his brother Montigny how very much he was the admiral's friend, and begged La Loo to tell his master that he should not doubt the royal generosity and gratitude. The governor added that if he could see the count in person he could tell him things which would please him, and which would prove that he had not been forgotten by his friends. La Loo had afterward a long conversation with the duke's secretary, Alborno, who assured him that his master had the greatest affection for Count Horn, and that, since his affairs were so much embarrassed, he might easily be provided with the post of governor at Milan or viceroy of Naples, about to become vacant. The secretary added that the duke was much hurt at receiving no visits from many distinguished

¹ Foppens, *Suppl. à Strada*, ii. 553 sqq.

² *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 563, note.

³ Letter of Alonzo de la Loo in *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 563, 564.

nobles whose faithful friend and servant he was, and that Count Horn ought to visit Brussels, if not to treat of great affairs, at least to visit the captain-general as a friend. "After all this," said honest Alonzo, "I am going immediately to Weerdt, to urge his lordship to yield to the duke's desires."¹

This scientific manœuvring, joined to the urgent representations of Egmont, at last produced its effect. The admiral left his retirement at Weerdt to fall into the pit which his enemies had been so skilfully preparing at Brussels. On the night of the 8th September, Egmont received another most significative and mysterious warning. A Spaniard, apparently an officer of rank, came secretly into his house, and urged him solemnly to effect his escape before the morrow. The countess, who related the story afterward, always believed, without being certain, that the mysterious visitor was Julien Romero, *maréchal-de-camp*.² Egmont, however, continued as blindly confident as before.

On the following day, September 9, the grand prior, Don Fernando, gave a magnificent dinner, to which Egmont and Horn, together with Noircarmes, the Viscount of Ghent, and many other noblemen, were invited. The banquet was enlivened by the music of Alva's own military band, which the duke sent to entertain the

¹ Letter of Alonzo de la Loo in *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, i. 563, 564. Compare *La déduction de l'innocence du Comte de Hornes* (1568), pp. 33-35.

² "Voires le *jour précédent*, quelque Seigneur du conseil l'avoit préadverti, aiant Madame sa femme souvent declairé que ung capitaine Espagnol qu'on soubçonnoit avoir este Julian Romero, était venu de nuit en son logis lui conseiller la retraiete, mais la confidence de ses services, l'espoir de son innocence le fit desmeurer."
—Renom de France MS., ii. c. i.

company. At three o'clock he sent a message begging the gentlemen, after their dinner should be concluded, to favor him with their company at his house (the *Maison de Jasse*), as he wished to consult them concerning the plan of the citadel which he proposed erecting at Antwerp.¹

At this moment the grand prior, who was seated next to Egmont, whispered in his ear: "Leave this place, Signor Count, instantly; take the fleetest horse in your stable and make your escape without a moment's delay." Egmont, much troubled, and remembering the manifold prophecies and admonitions which he had passed by unheeded, rose from the table and went into the next room. He was followed by Noircarmes and two other gentlemen, who had observed his agitation and were curious as to its cause. The count repeated to them the mysterious words just whispered to him by the grand prior, adding that he was determined to take the advice without a moment's delay. "Ha! Count," exclaimed Noircarmes, "do not put lightly such implicit confidence in this stranger who is counseling you to your destruction. What will the Duke of Alva and all the Spaniards say of such a precipitate flight? Will they not say that your Excellency has fled from the consciousness of guilt? Will not your escape be construed into a confession of high treason?"²

If these words were really spoken by Noircarmes—and that they were so we have the testimony of a Walloon gentleman in constant communication with Egmont's friends and with the whole Catholic party—they furnish another proof of the malignant and cruel character of the man. The advice fixed forever the fate of the vacil-

¹ Pontus Payen MS., book iv.

² *Ibid.*

lating Egmont. He had risen from table determined to take the advice of a noble-minded Spaniard who had adventured his life to save his friend. He now returned in obedience to the counsel of a fellow-countryman, a Flemish noble, to treat the well-meant warning with indifference, and to seat himself again at the last banquet which he was ever to grace with his presence.

At four o'clock, the dinner being finished, Horn and Egmont, accompanied by the other gentlemen, proceeded to the Jasse house, then occupied by Alva, to take part in the deliberations proposed.¹ They were received by the duke with great courtesy. The engineer, Pietro Urbino, soon appeared, and laid upon the table a large parchment containing the plan and elevation of the citadel to be erected at Antwerp.² A warm discussion upon the subject soon arose, Egmont, Horn, Noircarmes, and others, together with the engineers Urbino and Pacheco, all taking part in the debate.³ After a short time the Duke of Alva left the apartment, on pretext of a sudden indisposition, leaving the company still warmly engaged in their argument.⁴ The council lasted till near seven in the evening. As it broke up, Don Sancho d'Avila, captain of the duke's guard, requested Egmont to remain for a moment after the rest, as he had a communication to make to him. After an insignificant remark or two, the Spanish officer, as soon as the two were alone, requested Egmont to surrender his sword. The count, agitated, and, notwithstanding everything which had gone before, still taken by surprise, scarcely knew what reply to make.⁵ Don Sancho repeated that he had

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. Compare Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 573.

⁴ Pontus Payen MS. ⁵ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 573.

been commissioned to arrest him, and again demanded his sword. At the same moment the doors of the adjacent apartment were opened, and Egmont saw himself surrounded by a company of Spanish musketeers and halberdmen. Finding himself thus entrapped, he gave up his sword, saying bitterly, as he did so, that it had at least rendered some service to the king in times which were past. He was then conducted to a chamber in the upper story of the house, where his temporary prison had been arranged. The windows were barricaded, the daylight excluded, the whole apartment hung with black. Here he remained fourteen days (from the 9th to 23d September). During this period he was allowed no communication with his friends. His room was lighted day and night with candles, and he was served in strict silence by Spanish attendants, and guarded by Spanish soldiers. The captain of the watch drew his curtain every midnight, and aroused him from sleep that he might be identified by the relieving officer.¹

Count Horn was arrested upon the same occasion by Captain Salinas, as he was proceeding through the courtyard of the house after the breaking up of the council. He was confined in another chamber of the mansion, and met with a precisely similar treatment to that experienced by Egmont. Upon the 23d September both were removed under a strong guard to the castle of Ghent.²

On this same day two other important arrests, included and arranged in the same program, had been successfully accomplished. Bakkerzeel, private and

¹ Pontus Payen MS.

² Ibid. Compare Bor, iv. 184; Hoofd, iv. 150, 151; Strada, vi. 298-300; Correspondance de Philippe II., ubi sup.

confidential secretary of Egmont, and Antony van Straalen, the rich and influential burgomaster of Antwerp, were taken almost simultaneously.¹ At the request of Alva, the burgomaster had been invited by the Duchess of Parma to repair on business to Brussels. He seemed to have feared an ambushade, for, as he got into his coach to set forth upon the journey, he was so muffled in a multiplicity of clothing that he was scarcely to be recognized.² He was no sooner, however, in the open country and upon a spot remote from human habitations than he was suddenly beset by a band of forty soldiers under command of Don Alberic Lodron and Don Sancho de Lodroño.³ These officers had been watching his movements for many days. The capture of Bakkerzeel was accomplished with equal adroitness at about the same hour.

Alva, while he sat at the council-board with Egmont and Horn, was secretly informed that those important personages, Bakkerzeel and Straalen, with the private secretary of the admiral, Alonzo de la Loo, in addition, had been thus successfully arrested. He could with difficulty conceal his satisfaction, and left the apartment immediately that the trap might be sprung upon the two principal victims of his treachery. He had himself arranged all the details of these two important arrests, while his natural son, the Prior Don Fernando, had been compelled to superintend the proceedings.⁴ The plot had been an excellent plot, and was accomplished as successfully as it had been sagaciously conceived.

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 637, 638.

² Strada, i. 299.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., ubi sup.

⁴ Ibid. Compare Hoofd, iv. 151; Strada, i. 299.

None but Spaniards had been employed in any part of the affair.¹ Officers of high rank in his Majesty's army had performed the part of spies and policemen with much adroitness, nor was it to be expected that the duty would seem a disgrace, when the Prior of the Knights of St. John was superintendent of the operations, when the captain-general of the Netherlands had arranged the whole plan, and when all, from subaltern to viceroy, had received minute instructions as to the contemplated treachery from the great chief of the Spanish police, who sat on the throne of Castile and Aragon.

No sooner were these gentlemen in custody than the secretary Albornoze was despatched to the house of Count Horn and to that of Bakkerzeel, where all papers were immediately seized, inventoried, and placed in the hands of the duke.² Thus, if amid the most secret communications of Egmont and Horn or their correspondents a single treasonable thought should be lurking, it was to go hard but it might be twisted into a cord strong enough to strangle them all.

The duke wrote a triumphant letter to his Majesty that very night. He apologized that these important captures had been deferred so long, but stated that he had thought it desirable to secure all these leading personages at a single stroke. He then narrated the masterly manner in which the operations had been conducted. Certainly, when it is remembered that the duke had only reached Brussels upon the 23d August, and that the two counts were securely lodged in prison on the 9th of September, it seemed a superfluous modesty upon his part thus to excuse himself for an apparent delay. At any rate, in the eyes of the world and of posterity

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 638.

² Ibid.

his zeal to carry out the bloody commands of his master was sufficiently swift.

The consternation was universal throughout the provinces when the arrests became known. Egmont's great popularity and distinguished services placed him so high above the mass of citizens, and his attachment to the Catholic religion was, moreover, so well known, as to make it obvious that no man could now be safe when men like him were in the power of Alva and his myrmidons. The animosity to the Spaniards increased hourly.¹ The duchess affected indignation² at the arrest of the two nobles, although it nowhere appears that she attempted a word in their defense, or lifted, at any subsequent moment, a finger to save them. She was not anxious to wash her hands of the blood of two innocent men; she was only offended that they had been arrested without her permission. The duke had, it is true, sent Berlaymont and Mansfeld to give her information of the fact as soon as the capture had been made, with the plausible excuse that he preferred to save her from all the responsibility and all the unpopularity of the measure.³ Nothing, however, could appease her wrath at this and every other indication of the contempt in which he appeared to hold the sister of his sovereign. She complained of his conduct daily to every one who was admitted to her presence. Herself oppressed by a sense of personal indignity, she seemed for a moment to identify herself with the cause of the oppressed provinces. She seemed to imagine herself the champion of their liberties, and the Netherlanders, for a moment, seemed to participate in the delusion. Because she was indig-

¹ Bor, iv. 185.

² Strada, i. 301.

³ Bor, iv. 185. Strada, i. 300, 301.

nant at the insolence of the Duke of Alva to herself, the honest citizens began to give her credit for a sympathy with their own wrongs. She expressed herself determined to move about from one city to another until the answer to her demand for dismissal should arrive.¹ She allowed her immediate attendants to abuse the Spaniards in good set terms upon every occasion. Even her private chaplain permitted himself, in preaching before her in the palace chapel, to denounce the whole nation as a race of traitors and ravishers, and for this offense was only reprimanded, much against her will, by the duchess, and ordered to retire for a season to his convent. She did not attempt to disguise her dissatisfaction at every step which had been taken by the duke. In all this there was much petulance, but very little dignity, while there was neither a spark of real sympathy for the oppressed millions, nor a throb of genuine womanly emotion for the impending fate of the two nobles. Her principal grief was that she had pacified the provinces, and that another had now arrived to reap the glory; but it was difficult, while the unburied bones of many heretics were still hanging, by her decree, on the rafters of their own dismantled churches, for her successfully to enact the part of a benignant and merciful regent. But it is very true that the horrors of the duke's administration have been propitious to the fame of Margaret, and perhaps more so to that of Cardinal Granvelle. The faint and struggling rays of humanity which occasionally illumined the course of their government were destined to be extinguished in a chaos so profound and dark that these last beams of light seemed clearer and more bountiful by the contrast.

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 631.

² Ibid.

The Count of Hoogstraaten, who was on his way to Brussels, had, by good fortune, injured his hand through the accidental discharge of a pistol. Detained by this casualty at Cologne, he was informed, before his arrival at the capital, of the arrest of his two distinguished friends, and accepted the hint to betake himself at once to a place of safety.¹

The loyalty of the elder Mansfeld was beyond dispute even by Alva. His son Charles had, however, been imprudent, and, as we have seen, had even affixed his name to the earliest copies of the Compromise. He had retired, it is true, from all connection with the confederates, but his father knew well that the young count's signature upon that famous document would prove his death-warrant, were he found in the country. He therefore had sent him into Germany before the arrival of the duke.²

The king's satisfaction was unbounded when he learned this important achievement of Alva, and he wrote immediately to express his approbation in the most extravagant terms.³ Cardinal Granvelle, on the contrary, affected astonishment at a course which he had secretly counseled. He assured his Majesty that he had never believed Egmont to entertain sentiments opposed to the Catholic religion, nor to the interests of the crown, up to the period of his own departure from the Netherlands. He was persuaded, he said, that the count had been abused by others, *although, to be sure, the cardinal had learned with regret what Egmont had written on the occasion of the baptism of Count Hoogstraaten's*

¹ Bor, iv. 185.

² Ibid. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 647.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 666.

child. As to the other persons arrested, he said that no one regretted their fate. The cardinal added that he was *supposed to be himself the instigator of these captures*, but that he was not disturbed by that, or by other imputations of a similar nature.¹

In conversation with those about him he frequently expressed regret that the Prince of Orange had been too crafty to be caught in the same net in which his more simple companions were so inextricably entangled. Indeed, on the first arrival of the news that men of high rank had been arrested in Brussels, the cardinal eagerly inquired if the Taciturn had been taken, for by that term he always characterized the prince. Receiving a negative reply, he expressed extreme disappointment, adding that if Orange had escaped they had taken nobody, and that his capture would have been more valuable than that of every man in the Netherlands.²

Peter Titelmann, too, the famous inquisitor, who, retired from active life, was then living upon Philip's bounty and encouraged by friendly letters from that monarch,³ expressed the same opinion. Having been informed that Egmont and Horn had been captured, he eagerly inquired if "wise William" had also been taken. He was, of course, answered in the negative. "Then will our joy be but brief," he observed. "Woe unto us for the wrath to come from Germany."⁴

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 674.

² Hoofd, iv. 151. Strada, i. 300. Meteren, 50.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 523.

⁴ " . . . si (inquit) astutus Gulielmus (Aurantius) evasit non erunt solida gaudia nostra, vœ nobis à bello Germanico."—Pandoræ sive veniæ Hispanicæ editæ Anatomia. Prometheo auctore, 1574.

On the 12th of July of this year Philip wrote to Granvelle to inquire the particulars of a letter which the Prince of Orange, *according to a previous communication of the cardinal*, had written to Egmont on the occasion of the baptism of Count Hoogstraaten's child.¹ On the 17th of August the cardinal replied by setting the king right as to the error which he had committed. The letter, as he had already stated, was not written by Orange, *but by Egmont*, and he expressed his astonishment that Madame de Parma had not yet sent it to his Majesty. The duchess must have seen it, because her confessor had shown it to the person who was Granvelle's informant. In this letter, the cardinal continued, the statement had been made by Egmont to the Prince of Orange *that their plots were discovered*, that the king was making armaments, that they were unable to resist him, and that therefore it had become necessary *to dissemble* and to accommodate themselves as well as possible to the present situation, while *waiting for other circumstances under which to accomplish their designs*. Granvelle advised, moreover, that Straalen, who had been privy to the letter, and perhaps the amanuensis, should be forthwith arrested.²

The cardinal was determined not to let the matter sleep, notwithstanding his protestation of a kindly feeling toward the imprisoned count. Against the statement that he knew of a letter which amounted to a full confession of treason out of Egmont's own mouth,—a fact which, if proved, and perhaps if even insinuated, would be sufficient with Philip to deprive Egmont of twenty thousand lives,—against these constant recom-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 564-610.

² Ibid., i. 624.

mendations to his suspicious and sanguinary master to ferret out this document, if it were possible, it must be confessed that the churchman's vague and hypocritical expressions on the side of mercy were very little worth.

Certainly these seeds of suspicion did not fall upon a barren soil. Philip immediately communicated the information thus received to the Duke of Alva, charging him on repeated occasions to find out what was written, either by Egmont, or by Straalen at Egmont's instigation, stating that such a letter was written at the time of the Hoogstraaten baptism, that it would probably illustrate the opinions of Egmont at that period, and that the letter itself, which the confessor of Madame de Parma had once had in his hands, ought, if possible, to be procured.¹ Thus the very language used by Granvelle to Philip was immediately repeated by the monarch to his representative in the Netherlands, at the moment when all Egmont's papers were in his possession, and when Egmont's private secretary was undergoing the torture,² in order that secrets might be wrenched from him which had never entered his brain. The fact that no such letter was found, that the duchess had never alluded to any such document, and that neither a careful scrutiny of papers nor the application of the rack³ could elicit any satisfactory information on the subject, leads to the conclusion that no such treasonable paper had ever existed, save in the imagination of the cardinal. At any rate, it is no more than just to hesitate before affixing a damning character to a document, in the ab-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 666-702.

² Vigl. Epist. ad Hopp., xxvi. 406. V. d. Vynekt, ii. 82. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 671.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 671.

sence of any direct proof that there ever was such a document at all. The confessor of Madame de Parma told another person, who told the cardinal, that either Count Egmont, or Burgomaster Straalen by command of Count Egmont, wrote to the Prince of Orange thus and so. What evidence was this upon which to found a charge of high treason against a man whom Granvelle affected to characterize as otherwise neither opposed to the Catholic religion nor to the true service of the king? What vulpine kind of mercy was it on the part of the cardinal, while making such deadly insinuations, to recommend the imprisoned victim to clemency?

The unfortunate envoys, Marquis Berghen and Baron Montigny, had remained in Spain under close observation. Of those doomed victims who, in spite of friendly remonstrances and of ominous warnings, had thus ventured into the lion's den, no retreating footmarks were ever to be seen. Their fate, now that Alva had at last been despatched to the Netherlands, seemed to be sealed, and the Marquis Berghen, accepting the augury in its most evil sense, immediately afterward had sickened unto death. Whether it were the sickness of hope deferred suddenly changing to despair, or whether it were a still more potent and unequivocal poison which came to the relief of the unfortunate nobleman, will perhaps never be ascertained with certainty.¹ The secrets of those terrible prison-houses of Spain, where even the eldest begotten son and the wedded wife of the monarch were soon afterward believed to have been the victims of his dark revenge, can never perhaps be accurately known until the grave gives up its dead and the buried crimes of centuries are revealed.

¹ Strada, i. 290. Hoofd, iv. 146.

It was very soon after the departure of Alva's fleet from Cartagena that the Marquis Berghen felt his end approaching. He sent for the Prince of Eboli, with whom he had always maintained intimate relations, and whom he believed to be his disinterested friend. Relying upon his faithful breast, and trusting to receive from his eyes alone the pious drops of sympathy which he required, the dying noble poured out his long and last complaint. He charged him to tell the man whom he would no longer call his king that he had ever been true and loyal, that the bitterness of having been constantly suspected, when he was conscious of entire fidelity, was a sharper sorrow than could be lightly believed, and that he hoped the time would come when his own truth and the artifices of his enemies would be brought to light. He closed his parting message by predicting that after he had been long laid in the grave the impeachments against his character would be at last, although too late, retracted.¹

So spake the unhappy envoy, and his friend replied with words of consolation. It is probable that he even ventured, in the king's name, to grant him the liberty of returning to his home—the only remedy, as his physicians had repeatedly stated, which could possibly be applied to his disease. But the devilish hypocrisy of Philip and the abject perfidy of Eboli, at this juncture, almost surpass belief. The prince came to press the hand and to close the eyes of the dying man whom he called his friend, having first carefully studied a billet of most minute and secret instructions from his master as to the deportment he was to observe upon this solemn occasion and afterward. This paper, written in Philip's

¹ Strada, i. 290.

own hand, had been delivered to Eboli on the very day of his visit to Berghen, and bore the superscription that it was not to be read nor opened till the messenger who brought it had left his presence. It directed the prince, if it should be evident that the marquis was past recovery, to promise him, in the king's name, the permission of returning to the Netherlands. Should, however, a possibility of his surviving appear, Eboli was only to hold out a hope that such permission might eventually be obtained. In case of the death of Berghen, the prince was immediately to confer with the grand inquisitor and with the Count of Feria upon the measures to be taken for his obsequies. It might seem advisable, in that event, to exhibit the regret which the king and his ministers felt for his death, and the great esteem in which they held the nobles of the Netherlands. At the same time, Eboli was further instructed to confer with the same personages as to the most efficient means for preventing the escape of Baron Montigny; to keep a vigilant eye upon his movements, and to give general directions to governors and to postmasters to intercept his flight, should it be attempted. Finally, in case of Berghen's death, the prince was directed to despatch a special messenger, apparently on his own responsibility, and as if in the absence and without the knowledge of the king, to inform the Duchess of Parma of the event, and to urge her immediately to take possession of the city of Bergen-op-Zoom and of all other property belonging to the marquis, until it should be ascertained whether it were not possible to convict him, after death, of treason, and to confiscate his estates accordingly.¹

Such were the instructions of Philip to Eboli, and pre-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 572.

cisely in accordance with the program was the horrible comedy enacted at the death-bed of the envoy. Three days after his parting interview with his disinterested friend the marquis was a corpse.¹ Before his limbs were cold, a messenger was on his way to Brussels, instructing the regent to *sequester his property, and to arrest, upon suspicion of heresy, the youthful kinsman and niece, who, by the will of the marquis, were to be united in marriage and to share his estate.*² The whole drama, beginning with the death-scene, was enacted according to order. Before the arrival of Alva in the Netherlands the property of the marquis was in the hands of the government, awaiting the confiscation³ which was but for a brief season delayed, while, on the other hand, Baron Montigny, Berghen's companion in doom, who was not, however, so easily to be carried off by homesickness, was closely confined in the alcazar of Segovia, never to leave a Spanish prison alive.⁴ There is something pathetic in the delusion in which Montigny and his brother, the Count Horn, both indulged, each believing that the other was out of harm's way, the one by his absence from the Netherlands, the other by his absence from Spain, while both, involved in the same meshes, were rapidly and surely approaching their fate.⁵

In the same despatch of the 9th September in which the duke communicated to Philip the capture of Egmont

¹ Strada, i. 290.

² Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 547-590. Strada, i. 291, and note of M. Gachard.

³ V. d. Vynekt, ii. 77.

⁴ Hoofd, iv. 172, 173. Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 648, 654, 666.

⁵ Vide Déduction de l'innocence du Comte de Hornes, pp. 203, 204.

and Horn, he announced to him his determination to establish a new court for the trial of crimes committed during the recent period of troubles.¹ This wonderful tribunal was accordingly created with the least possible delay. It was called the Council of Troubles, but it soon acquired the terrible name, by which it will be forever known in history, of the Blood-Council.² It superseded all other institutions. Every court, from those of the municipal magistracies up to the supreme councils of the provinces, was forbidden to take cognizance in future of any cause growing out of the late troubles.³ The council of state, although it was not formally disbanded, fell into complete desuetude, its members being occasionally summoned into Alva's private chambers in an irregular manner, while its principal functions were usurped by the Blood-Council. Not only citizens of every province, but the municipal bodies and even the sovereign provincial estates themselves, were compelled to plead, like humble individuals, before this new and extraordinary tribunal.⁴ It is unnecessary to allude to the absolute violation which was thus committed of all charters, laws, and privileges, because the very creation of the council was a bold and brutal proclamation that those laws and privileges were at an end. The constitution or maternal principle of this suddenly erected court was of a twofold nature. It defined and it punished the crime of treason. The definitions, couched in eighteen articles, declared it to be treason to have delivered

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 637.

² Hoofd, iv. 153. Bor, iv. 185, 186. Meteren, f. 49. Reidani, Ann. Belg., p. 5.

³ Bor, iv. 185, 186.

⁴ Ibid. Hoofd, Meteren, ubi sup.

or signed any petition against the new bishops, the Inquisition, or the edicts; to have tolerated public preaching under any circumstances; to have omitted resistance to the image-breaking, to the field-preaching, or to the presentation of the Request by the nobles; and, "either through sympathy or surprise," to have asserted that the king did not possess the right to deprive all the provinces of their liberties, or to have maintained that this present tribunal was bound to respect in any manner any laws or any charters.¹ In these brief and simple but comprehensive terms was the crime of high treason defined. The punishment was still more briefly, simply, and comprehensively stated, for it was instant death in all cases.² So well, too, did this new and terrible engine perform its work that in less than three months from the time of its erection eighteen hundred human beings had suffered death³ by its summary proceedings, some of the highest, the noblest, and the most virtuous in the land among the number; nor had it then manifested the slightest indication of faltering in its dread career.

Yet, strange to say, this tremendous court, thus established upon the ruins of all the ancient institutions of the country, had not been provided with even a nominal authority from any source whatever. The king had granted it no letters patent or charter, nor had even the Duke of Alva thought it worth while to grant any commissions, either in his own name or as captain-general, to any of the members composing the board.⁴ The

¹ Meteren, 49.

² Hoofd, Bor, ubi supra. Meteren.

³ Brandt, Hist. der Ref., i. 468. Bor, iv. 116.

⁴ V. Notice sur le Cons. des Troubles, par M. Gachard, p. 7. MS. Letters of Requesens, 30th December, 1573, and of Geron. de Roda, 18th May, 1576.

Blood-Council was merely an informal club, of which the duke was perpetual president, while the other members were all appointed by himself.

Of these subordinate councilors, two had the right of voting, subject, however, in all cases to his final decision, while the rest of the number did not vote at all.¹ It had not, therefore, in any sense, the character of a judicial, legislative, or executive tribunal, but was purely a board of advice by which the bloody labors of the duke were occasionally lightened as to detail, while not a feather's weight of power or of responsibility was removed from his shoulders. He reserved for himself the final decision upon all causes which should come before the council, and stated his motives for so doing with grim simplicity. "Two reasons," he wrote to the king, "have determined me thus to limit the power of the tribunal: the first that, not knowing its members, I might be easily deceived by them; the second, that *the men of law* only condemn for crimes which are proved, whereas your Majesty knows that affairs of state are governed by very different rules from *the laws which they have here.*"²

It being, therefore, the object of the duke to compose a body of men who would be of assistance to him in condemning for crimes which could *not* be proved and in slipping over statutes which were not to be recognized, it must be confessed that he was not unfortunate in the

¹ Gachard, Notice, etc., 8 and 9, with the letters cited from Alva, 14th September, 1567, and from Requesens, 30th December, 1573.

² Ibid., p. 5. "La otra es que letrados no sentencian sino en casos probados; y como V. M. sabe, los negocios de Estado son muy diferentes de las leyes que ellos tienen."—Letter of 9th September, 1567.

appointments which he made to the office of councilors. In this task of appointment he had the assistance of the experienced Viglius.¹ That learned juriconsult, with characteristic lubricity, had evaded the dangerous honor for himself, but he nominated a number of persons from whom the duke selected his list. The sacerdotal robes which he had so recently and so "craftily" assumed furnished his own excuse, and in his letters to his faithful Hopper he repeatedly congratulated himself upon his success in keeping himself at a distance from so bloody and perilous a post.²

It is impossible to look at the conduct of the distinguished Frisian at this important juncture without contempt. Bent only upon saving himself, his property, and his reputation, he did not hesitate to bend before the "most illustrious duke," as he always denominated him, with fulsome and fawning homage.³ While he declined to dip his own fingers in the innocent blood which was about to flow in torrents, he did not object to officiate at the initiatory preliminaries of the great Netherland holocaust. His decent and dainty demeanor seems even more offensive than the jocularly of the real murderers. Conscious that no man knew the laws and customs of the Netherlands better than himself, he had the humble effrontery to observe that it was necessary for him at that moment silently to submit his own unskilfulness to the superior judgment and knowledge of others.⁴ Having at last been relieved from the stone of Sisypheus, which, as he plaintively expressed himself,

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 637. Vigl. Epist. ad Hopp., xli. 441, 442; xxvii. 410.

² Vigl. ad Hopp., Epist. 27 et 41.

³ Ibid., 26, etc.

⁴ Ibid., 26.

he had been rolling for twenty years;¹ having, by the arrival of Tisnacq, obtained his discharge as president of the state council, he was yet not unwilling to retain the emoluments and the rank of president of the privy council, although both offices had become sinecures since the erection of the Council of Blood. Although his life had been spent in administrative and judicial employments, he did not blush upon a matter of constitutional law to defer to the authority of such jurisconsults as the Duke of Alva and his two Spanish bloodhounds, Vargas and Del Ryo. He did not like, he observed in his confidential correspondence, to gainsay the duke when maintaining that in cases of treason the privileges of Brabant were powerless, although he mildly doubted whether the Brabantines would agree with the doctrine.² He often thought, he said, of remedies for restoring the prosperity of the provinces, but in action he only assisted the duke, to the best of his abilities, in arranging the Blood-Council. He wished well to his country, but he was more anxious for the favor of Alva. "I rejoice," said he, in one of his letters, "that the most illustrious duke has written to the king in praise of my obsequiousness; when I am censured here for so reverently cherishing him, it is a consolation that my services to the king and to the governor are not unappreciated there."³ Indeed, the Duke of Alva, who had originally suspected the president's character, seemed at last overcome by his indefatigable and cringing homage. He wrote to the king, in whose good graces the learned doctor was most anxious at that portentous period to maintain himself, that the

¹ Vita Viglii, cxi.

² Vigl. ad Hopp., Epist. 24.

³ Ibid., 26.

president was very serviceable and diligent, and that he deserved to receive a crumb of comfort from the royal hand.¹ Philip, in consequence, wrote in one of his letters a few lines of vague compliment, which could be shown to Viglius, according to Alva's suggestion. It is, however, not a little characteristic of the Spanish court and of the Spanish monarch that, on the very day before, he had sent to the captain-general a few documents of very different import. In order, as he said, that the duke might be ignorant of nothing which related to the Netherlands, he forwarded to him copies of the letters written by Margaret of Parma from Brussels three years before. These letters, as it will be recollected, contained an account of the secret investigations which the duchess had made as to the private character and opinions of Viglius,—at the very moment when he apparently stood highest in her confidence,—and charged him with heresy, swindling, and theft. Thus the painstaking and time-serving president, with all his learning and experience, was successively the dupe of Margaret and of Alva, whom he so obsequiously courted, and always of Philip, whom he so feared and worshiped.²

With his assistance the list of blood-councilors was quickly completed. No one who was offered the office refused it. Noircarmes and Berlaymont accepted with very great eagerness.³ Several presidents and council-

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 647.

² Ibid., i. 666.

³ "Norcarme y Barlemon . . . no solo no han rehusado, pero me parece lo han acetado de muy buena gana."—MS. Letter of Alva, 10th September, 1567; cited in Gachard, *Notice sur le Conseil des Troubles*, p. 7, note.

ors of the different provincial tribunals were appointed, but all the Netherlanders were men of straw. Two Spaniards, Del Ryo and Vargas, were the only members who could vote, while their decisions, as already stated, were subject to reversal by Alva. Del Ryo was a man without character or talent, a mere tool in the hands of his superiors, but Juan de Vargas was a terrible reality.

No better man could have been found in Europe for the post to which he was thus elevated. To shed human blood was, in his opinion, the only important business and the only exhilarating pastime of life. His youth had been stained with other crimes. He had been obliged to retire from Spain because of his violation of an orphan child to whom he was guardian,¹ but in his manhood he found no pleasure but in murder. He executed Alva's bloody work with an industry which was almost superhuman, and with a merriment which would have shamed a demon. His execrable jests ring through the blood and smoke and death-cries of those days of perpetual sacrifice. He was proud to be the double of the iron-hearted duke, and acted so uniformly in accordance with his views that the right of revision remained but nominal. There could be no possibility of collision where the subaltern was only anxious to surpass an incomparable superior. The figure of Vargas rises upon us through the mist of three centuries with terrible distinctness. Even his barbarous grammar has not been forgotten, and his crimes against syntax and against humanity have acquired the same immortality. "Heretici fraxerunt templa, boni nihili faxerunt contra,

¹ Hoofd, iv. 152. See Correspondance de Philippe II., ii. 713, 731, also *La déduction de l'innocence du Comte de Hornes*, pp. 60, 61.

ergo debent omnes patibulare," was the comprehensive but barbarous formula of a man who murdered the Latin language as ruthlessly as he slaughtered his contemporaries.¹

Among the ciphers who composed the rest of the board, the Flemish councilor Hessels was the one whom the duke most respected. He was not without talent or learning, but the duke only valued him for his cruelty. Being allowed to take but little share in the deliberations, Hessels was accustomed to doze away his afternoon hours at the council-table, and when awakened from his nap in order that he might express an opinion on the case then before the court, was wont to rub his eyes and to call out, "Ad patibulum, ad patibulum" ("To the gallows with him, to the gallows with him"), with great fervor, but in entire ignorance of the culprit's name or the merits of the case. His wife, naturally disturbed that her husband's waking and sleeping hours were alike absorbed with this hangman's work, more than once ominously expressed her hope to him that he, whose head and heart were thus engrossed with the gibbet, might not one day come to hang upon it himself—a gloomy prophecy which the future most terribly fulfilled.²

The Council of Blood, thus constituted, held its first session on the 20th September, at the lodgings of Alva.³ Springing completely grown and armed to the teeth from the head of its inventor, the new tribunal—at the

¹ V. d. Vynekt, ii. 75, 76, 77. Brandt, i. 465, 466. Reidani, p. 5. Hoofd, 152. "The heretics destroyed the temples, the good men did nothing to prevent it, therefore they should all be hanged."

² Hoofd, xiv. 594. Brandt, i. 494.

³ Gachard, Notice, etc., 9.

very outset in possession of all its vigor—forthwith began to manifest a terrible activity in accomplishing the objects of its existence. The councilors having been sworn to “eternal secrecy as to anything which should be transacted at the board, and having likewise made oath to denounce any one of their number who should violate the pledge,” the court was considered as organized. Alva worked therein seven hours daily.¹ It may be believed that the subordinates were not spared, and that their office proved no sinecure. Their labors, however, were not encumbered by antiquated forms. As this supreme and only tribunal for all the Netherlands had no commission or authority save the will of the captain-general, so it was also thought a matter of supererogation to establish a set of rules and orders such as might be useful in less independent courts. The forms of proceeding were brief and artless. There was a rude organization, by which a crowd of commissioners, acting as inferior officers of the council, were spread over the provinces, whose business was to collect information concerning all persons who might be incriminated for participation in the recent troubles.² The greatest crime, however, was to be rich, and one which could be expiated by no virtues, however signal. Alva was bent upon proving himself as accomplished a financier as he was indisputably a consummate commander, and he had promised his master an annual income of five hundred thousand ducats from the confiscations which were to accompany the executions.³

It was necessary that the blood-torrent should flow at

¹ Gachard, Notice, etc., 10.

² Ibid., 14, etc.

³ Ibid., 22. Compare Brandt, i. 475; Meteren, 29; Hoofd, iv.; V. d. Vynekt, ii. 81, et alios.

once through the Netherlands, in order that the promised golden river—a yard deep, according to his vaunt¹—should begin to irrigate the thirsty soil of Spain. It is obvious, from the fundamental laws which were made to define treason at the same moment in which they established the council, that any man might be at any instant summoned to the court. Every man, whether innocent or guilty, whether papist or Protestant, felt his head shaking on his shoulders. If he were wealthy, there seemed no remedy but flight, which was now almost impossible, from the heavy penalties affixed by the new edict upon all carriers, shipmasters, and wagoners who should aid in the escape of heretics.²

A certain number of these commissioners were particularly instructed to collect information as to the treason of Orange, Louis of Nassau, Brederode, Egmont, Horn, Culemburg, Van den Berg, Berghen, and Montigny. Upon such information the proceedings against those distinguished seigniors were to be summarily instituted. Particular councilors of the Court of Blood were charged with the arrangement of these important suits, but the commissioners were to report in the first instance to the duke himself, who afterward returned the paper into the hands of his subordinates.³

With regard to the inferior and miscellaneous cases which were daily brought in incredible profusion before the tribunal, the same preliminaries were observed, by way of aping the proceedings in courts of justice. Alva sent the cart-loads of information which were daily brought to him, but which neither he nor any other man had time to read, to be disposed of by the board of

¹ Brandt, i. 496.

² Bor, iii. 175, 176.

³ Gachard, Notice, etc., 10, 11.

councilors. It was the duty of the different subalterns, who, as already stated, had no right of voting, to prepare reports upon the cases. Nothing could be more summary. Information was lodged against a man, or against a hundred men, in one document. The duke sent the papers to the council, and the inferior councilors reported at once to Vargas. If the report concluded with a recommendation of death to the man, or the hundred men, in question, Vargas instantly approved it, and execution was done upon the man, or the hundred men, within forty-eight hours. If the report *had any other conclusion*, it was immediately sent back for revision, and the reporters were overwhelmed with reproaches by the president.¹

Such being the method of operation, it may be supposed that the councilors were not allowed to slacken in their terrible industry. The register of every city, village, and hamlet throughout the Netherlands showed the daily lists of men, women, and children thus sacrificed at the shrine of the demon who had obtained the mastery over this unhappy land.² It was not often that an individual was of sufficient importance to be tried—if trial it could be called—by himself.³ It was found more

¹ Gachard, Notice, etc., 19, 20. "En siendo el aviso de condenaer à muerte se decia que estaba muy bien y no habia mas que ver; empero, si el aviso era de menor pena, no se estaba à lo que ellos decian, sino tornabase à ver el proceso, y decian les sobre ellos malas palabras y hacian les ruin tratamiento," etc.—Official document cited by M. Gachard in Notice sur le Conseil, etc.

² Hoofd, iv. Brandt, ix.

³ See in particular the Sententien van Alva gezammelt van J. Markus, passim, a work in which a few thousand sentences of death upon men and women still in the Netherlands, or of banishment under pain of death upon such as had escaped, have been

expeditious to send them in batches to the furnace. Thus, for example, on the 4th of January, eighty-four inhabitants of Valenciennes were condemned; on another day, ninety-five miscellaneous individuals, from different places in Flanders; on another, forty-six inhabitants of Mechlin; on another, thirty-five persons from different localities, and so on.¹

The evening of Shrovetide, a favorite holiday in the Netherlands, afforded an occasion for arresting and carrying off a vast number of doomed individuals at a single swoop.² It was correctly supposed that the burghers, filled with wine and wassail, to which perhaps the persecution under which they lived lent an additional and horrible stimulus, might be easily taken from their beds in great numbers, and be delivered over at once to the council. The plot was ingenious, the net was spread accordingly. Many of the doomed were, however, luckily warned of the terrible termination which was impending over their festival, and bestowed themselves in safety for a season. A prize of about five hundred prisoners was all which rewarded the sagacity of the enterprise.³ It is needless to add that they were all immediately executed. It is a wearisome and odious task to ransack the moldy records of three centuries ago in order to reproduce the obscure names of the

collected and published. The sentences were given mainly upon the culprits in lots or gangs. See also the *Correspondance de Philippe II.*, ii. *passim*, and the *Registre des Condamnés et Bannis à Cause des Troubles des Pays-Bas* (3 vols. MS., Brussels Archives).

¹ Hoofd, iv. 157, 158. Meteren, 49. Gachard, 15, 16.

² Hoofd, iv. 157, 158. Brandt, i. 471. Bor, iv. 230. Gachard, 14.

³ Hoofd, Brandt, Bor, Gachard, *ubi supra*.

thousands who were thus sacrificed. The dead have buried their dead, and are forgotten. It is likewise hardly necessary to state that the proceedings before the council were all *ex parte*, and that an information was almost inevitably followed by a death-warrant. It sometimes happened even that the zeal of the councilors outstripped the industry of the commissioners. The sentences were occasionally in advance of the docket. Thus upon one occasion a man's case was called for trial, but before the investigation was commenced it was discovered that he had been already executed. A cursory examination of the papers proved, moreover, as usual, that the culprit had committed no crime. "No matter for that," said Vargas, jocosely; "if he has died innocent, it will be all the better for him when he takes his trial in the other world."¹

But, however the councilors might indulge in these gentle jests among themselves, it was obvious that innocence was in reality impossible, according to the rules which had been laid down regarding treason. The practice was in accordance with the precept, and persons were daily executed with senseless pretexts, which was worse than executions with no pretexts at all. Thus Peter de Witt of Amsterdam was beheaded because at one of the tumults in that city he had persuaded a rioter *not to fire* upon a magistrate. This was taken as sufficient proof that he was a man in authority among the rebels, and he was accordingly put to death.² Madame Juriaen, who, in 1566, had struck with her slipper a little wooden image of the Virgin, together with her maid-servant, who had witnessed without de-

¹ Brandt, i. 494. Hoofd, v. 191.

² Hoofd, v. 183. Brandt, i. 488.

nouncing the crime, were both drowned by the hangman in a hogshead placed on the scaffold.¹

Death, even, did not in all cases place a criminal beyond the reach of the executioner. Egbert Meynartzoon, a man of high official rank, had been condemned, together with two colleagues, on an accusation of collecting money in a Lutheran church. He died in prison of dropsy. The sheriff was indignant with the physician, because, in spite of cordials and strengthening prescriptions, the culprit had slipped through his fingers before he had felt those of the hangman. He consoled himself by placing the body on a chair, and having the dead man beheaded in company with his colleagues.²

Thus the whole country became a charnel-house; the death-bell tolled hourly in every village; not a family but was called to mourn for its dearest relatives, while the survivors stalked listlessly about, the ghosts of their former selves, among the wrecks of their former homes. The spirit of the nation, within a few months after the arrival of Alva, seemed hopelessly broken. The blood of its best and bravest had already stained the scaffold; the men to whom it had been accustomed to look for guidance and protection were dead, in prison, or in exile. Submission had ceased to be of any avail, flight was impossible, and the spirit of vengeance had alighted at every fireside. The mourners went daily about the streets, for there was hardly a house which had not been made desolate. The scaffolds, the gallowses, the funeral piles, which had been sufficient in ordinary times, furnished now an entirely inadequate machinery for the incessant executions. Columns and stakes in

¹ Brandt, i. 488. Reael, 43. Hist. des Martyrs, 449.

² Brandt, 488. Reael, 60, 6. Hoofd, v. 181, 182.

every street, the door-posts of private houses, the fences in the fields, were laden with human carcasses, strangled, burned, beheaded. The orchards in the country bore on many a tree the hideous fruit of human bodies.¹

Thus the Netherlands were crushed, and but for the stringency of the tyranny which had now closed their gates, would have been depopulated. The grass began to grow in the streets of those cities which had recently nourished so many artisans. In all those great manufacturing and industrial marts where the tide of human life had throbbed so vigorously, there now reigned the silence and the darkness of midnight. It was at this time that the learned Viglius wrote to his friend Hopper that all venerated the prudence and gentleness of the Duke of Alva.² Such were among the first-fruits of that prudence and that gentleness.

The Duchess of Parma had been kept in a continued state of irritation. She had not ceased for many months to demand her release from the odious position of a cipher in a land where she had so lately been sovereign, and she had at last obtained it. Philip transmitted his acceptance of her resignation by the same courier who brought Alva's commission to be governor-general in her place.³ The letters to the duchess were full of conventional compliments for her past services, accompanied, however, with a less barren and more acceptable acknowledgment, in the shape of a life-income of fourteen thousand ducats instead of the eight thousand hitherto enjoyed by her Highness.⁴

In addition to this liberal allowance, of which she was

¹ Hoofd, iv. 153.

² Vigl. Epist. ad Hopp., xlvi. 451.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 658, 662, 680, etc.

⁴ Ibid., 658. Strada, i. 305.

never to be deprived, except upon receiving full payment of one hundred and forty thousand ducats, she was presented with twenty-five thousand florins by the estates of Brabant, and with thirty thousand by those of Flanders.¹

With these substantial tokens of the success of her nine years' fatigue and intolerable anxiety, she at last took her departure from the Netherlands, having communicated the dissolution of her connection with the provinces by a farewell letter to the estates dated 9th December, 1567.² Within a few weeks afterward, escorted by the Duke of Alva across the frontier of Brabant, attended by a considerable deputation of Flemish nobility into Germany, and accompanied to her journey's end at Parma by the Count and Countess of Mansfeld, she finally closed her eventful career in the Netherlands.³

The horrors of the succeeding administration proved beneficial to her reputation. Upon the dark ground of succeeding years the lines which recorded her history seemed written with letters of light. Yet her conduct in the Netherlands offers but few points for approbation, and many for indignant censure. That she was not entirely destitute of feminine softness and sentiments of bounty, her parting despatch to her brother proved. In that letter she recommended to him a course of clemency and forgiveness, and reminded him that the nearer kings approach to God in station, the more they should endeavor to imitate him in his attributes of benignity.⁴ But the language of this farewell was more

¹ Vigl. Epist. ad Hopp., xlv. Correspondance de Philippe II., ii. 715.

² See it in Bor, iv. 186, 187.

³ Vigl. ad Hopp., xiv., xlvi. Strada, i. 305, 306.

⁴ Correspondance de Philippe II., 687.

tender than had been the spirit of her government. One looks in vain, too, through the general atmosphere of kindness which pervades the epistle, for a special recommendation of those distinguished and doomed seigniors whose attachment to her person and whose chivalrous and conscientious endeavors to fulfil her own orders had placed them upon the edge of that precipice from which they were shortly to be hurled. The men who had restrained her from covering herself with disgrace by a precipitate retreat from the post of danger, and who had imperiled their lives by obedience to her express instructions, had been long languishing in solitary confinement, never to be terminated except by a traitor's death; yet we search in vain for a kind word in their behalf.

Meantime the second civil war in France had broken out. The hollow truce by which the Guise party and the Huguenots had partly pretended to deceive each other was hastened to its end, among other causes, by the march of Alva to the Netherlands. The Huguenots had taken alarm, for they recognized the fellowship which united their foes in all countries against the Reformation, and Condé and Coligny knew too well that the same influence which had brought Alva to Brussels would soon create an exterminating army against their followers. Hostilities were resumed with more bitterness than ever. The battle of St.-Denis—fierce, fatal, but indecisive—was fought. The octogenarian hero Montmorency, fighting like a foot-soldier, refusing to yield his sword, and replying to the respectful solicitations of his nearest enemy by dashing his teeth down his throat with the butt-end of his pistol, the hero of so many battles, whose defeat at St.-Quentin had been the

fatal point in his career, had died at last in his armor, bravely but not gloriously, in conflict with his own countrymen, led by his own heroic nephew.¹ The military control of the Catholic party was completely in the hand of the Guises; the Chancellor de L'Hôpital had abandoned the court after a last and futile effort to reconcile contending factions which no human power could unite; the Huguenots had possessed themselves of Rochelle and of other strong places, and, under the guidance of adroit statesmen and accomplished generals, were pressing the Most Christian monarch hard in the very heart of his kingdom.²

As early as the middle of October, while still in Antwerp, Alva had received several secret agents of the French monarch, then closely beleaguered in his capital. Cardinal Lorraine offered to place several strong places of France in the hands of the Spaniard, and Alva had written to Philip that he was disposed to accept the offer and to render the service. The places thus held would be a guaranty for his expenses, he said, while in case King Charles and his brother should die, "their possession would enable Philip to assert his own claim to the French crown in right of his wife, the *Salic law* being merely a *pleasantry*."³

The queen dowager, adopting now a very different tone from that which characterized her conversation at the Bayonne interview, wrote to Alva that if, for want of two thousand Spanish musketeers, which she requested him to furnish, she should be obliged to succumb, she chose to disculpate herself in advance before

¹ De Thou, t. 5, liv. xli. 374 et seq.

² Ibid., 378.

³ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 593, 594.

God and Christian princes for the peace which she should be obliged to make.¹ The duke wrote to her in reply that it was much better to have a kingdom ruined in preserving it for God and the king by war, than to have it kept entire without war, to the profit of the devil and of his followers.² He was also reported on another occasion to have reminded her of the Spanish proverb that the head of one salmon is worth those of a hundred frogs.³ The hint, if it were really given, was certainly destined to be acted upon.

The duke not only furnished Catherine with advice, but with the musketeers which she had solicited. Two thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the Count of Aremberg, attended by a choice band of the Catholic nobility of the Netherlands, had joined the royal camp at Paris before the end of the year, to take their part in the brief hostilities by which the second treacherous peace was to be preceded.⁴

Meantime Alva was not unmindful of the business which had served as a pretext in the arrest of the two counts. The fortifications of the principal cities were pushed on with great rapidity. The memorable citadel of Antwerp, in particular, had already been commenced in October, under the superintendence of the celebrated engineers Pacheco and Gabriel de Cerebelloni.⁵ In a few months it was completed, at a cost of one million four hundred thousand florins, of which sum the citizens,

¹ Correspondance de Philippe II., i. 694.

² Ibid., i. 696.

³ De Thou, t. 5, liv. xlv. 515. Hug. Grot. Annal., lib. ii. 40. Bor, iv. 219.

⁴ Bor, iv. 219.

⁵ Correspondance de Philippe II., ii. 725, 726. Bor, iv.

in spite of their remonstrances, were compelled to contribute more than one quarter. The sum of four hundred thousand florins was forced from the burghers by a tax upon all hereditary property within the municipality.¹ Two thousand workmen were employed daily in the construction of this important fortress, which was erected, as its position most plainly manifested, not to protect, but to control the commercial capital of the provinces. It stood at the edge of the city, only separated from its walls by an open esplanade. It was the most perfect pentagon in Europe,² having one of its sides resting on the Schelde, two turned toward the city, and two toward the open country. Five bastions, with walls of hammered stone, connected by curtains of turf and masonry, surrounded by walls measuring a league in circumference, and by an outer moat fed by the Schelde, inclosed a spacious enceinte, where a little church, with many small lodging-houses, shaded by trees and shrubbery, nestled among the bristling artillery, as if to mimic the appearance of a peaceful and pastoral village. To four of the five bastions the captain-general, with characteristic ostentation, gave his own names and titles. One was called the Duke, the second Fernando, a third Toledo, a fourth Alva, while the fifth was baptized with the name of the ill-fated engineer Pacheco. The water-gate was decorated with the escutcheon of Alva, surrounded by his Golden Fleece collar, with its pendent Lamb of God—a symbol of blasphemous irony, which still remains upon the fortress to recall the image of the tyrant and murderer. Each bastion was honey-

¹ Bor, iv. 219.

² "La nompareille forteresse du monde."—Brantôme, Vie de Don Sancho d'Avila.

combed with casemates and subterranean storehouses, and capable of containing within its bowels a vast supply of provisions, munitions, and soldiers. Such was the celebrated citadel built to tame the turbulent spirit of Antwerp at the cost of those whom it was to terrify and to insult.¹

¹ De Thou, v. 300. Bor, iv. 219. Hoofd, iv. 154. Bentivoglio, iv. 58.







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